

**SOCIAL STRUCTURE, POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT  
INTERVENTIONS: EVIDENCE FROM DOLPA, NEPAL**

**A Dissertation**

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SOCIOLOGY**

**BY**

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## LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We certify that, this dissertation entitled '*Social Structure, Poverty and Development Interventions : Evidence from Dolpa, Nepal*' was prepared by Mr.**Shesh Raman Neupane**, under our guidance. We hereby recommend this dissertation for final approval by the Research Committee of the faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, in fulfillment of the requirements for the DEGREE OF *DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in SOCIOLOGY*.

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## APPROVAL LETTER

This dissertation entitled '*Social Structure, Poverty and Development Interventions : Evidence from Dolpa, Nepal*' was submitted by Mr. **Shesh Raman Neupane** for final examination by the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, in fulfillment of the requirements for the DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD) in SOCIOLOGY. I hereby certify that the Research Committee of this faculty has found this dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has therefore accepted in for the sought degree.

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Shesh Raman Neupane  
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## **ABSTRACT**

The main sufferers of poverty have been one fourth of Nepalese citizens who are poor. Nepal today remains one of the poorest countries in the world. At this moment of Nepal's desperate straits, this dissertation "Social Structure, Poverty and Development Interventions : Evidence from Dolpa, Nepal" is undertaken with the hope that it would contribute towards understanding the root causes of the failures of poverty focused development interventions to empower the poor for social change. Despite of several years of development investment and experiments in the country especially in far remote area of the high hill districts, poor people's livelihoods have not been improved sustainability.

Series of policies, plans, programmes and projects related to development were circulated in the name of improving the poor's situations but all these efforts have largely failed to improve the poverty situation on rural area. The focus on development schemes and actions fulfill their immediate needs like food but not address the problem of sustainability and local production. As indicated by the study findings, the attitudinal change and development of a true participatory culture, above everything else, seems to be very crucial for enhancing and promoting the independent development culture in Nepal.

Tripurakot, study area for this study in Dolpa district of Nepal is a far remote area of the country. This study proceeds from the assumption that the effect of development intervention is always good and it helps to strengthen the living standards of the people. People experience both good and destructive effects from various forms of development Interventions . One such project sought to facilitate development using a culturally valuable agent, work for food and other poverty focused programme, with its natives' natural lifestyle. Role of development should be as mediator between these two forces in this time of remarkable transition. Within this collaboration, we can even work to develop

something sacred and bring an integral form of development to community's full needs.

Obviously, many variables would need to be weighed into a formula for why development intervention is linked to the social institutions of the government, economy, family, and culture. The answer is not short and sweet, nor all of the reasons obvious (although they may seem to be at first glance), but certainly programmes for the community also help the rich get richer, and make the poor get poorer. With the simple method being obviously ineffective, more studies need to be carried out to find the reasons why... why poverty is affected so deeply by social structure and how that cycle can be broken.

Food aid (when not for emergency relief) can actually be very destructive on the economy of our country and contribute to more hunger and poverty in the long term. Free, subsidised, or cheap food, below market prices undercuts local farmers, who cannot compete and are driven out of jobs and into poverty. Many poor nations like Nepal are dependent on farming, and so such food aid amounts to food dumping. In the past few decades, more powerful nations have used this as a foreign policy tool for dominance rather than for real aid. Due to the same reason, the study area is found to have remained in massive poverty despite various development Interventions.

The signification of the dissertation is both applied and theoretical. An anti-poverty development intervention is not just an academic perception or any other development approach. It needs to be linked with the entire social norms and values. At one level this study makes a contribution to the sociological aspects of poverty in general and development policies in particulars. The study argues that various development interventions have only addressed the short-term development needs of the local people. Such interventions however have dependency of the local people upon government and non-government agencies.

## **ABBREVIATIONS / ACRONYMS**

AD	Anno Domini (a year after Jesus Christ was born)
APP	Agriculture Perspective Plan
ADB	Asian Development Bank
BA	Bachelors of Arts
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CDO	Chief District Administrator's Office
CO	Community Organisation
CPN UML	Communist Party of Nepal United Marxist and Leninist
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DADO	District Agriculture Development Office
DANIDA	Danish Development Agency
DDC	District Development Committee
DEO	District Education Office
DHO	District Health Office
DIMC Committee	Decentralisation Implementation and Monitoring
DPMAS	District Poverty Monitoring and Analysis System
HMG	His Majesty's Government



FY	Fiscal Year
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoN	Government of Nepal
GDP	Gross Domestic Production
GTZ	German Development Cooperation
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Rate
HIV and AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IDT	International Development Targets
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IRDP	Interpreted Rural Development Programme
KIDARC	Karnali Integrated Development and Research Centre
KEP	Karnali Employment Program
LA	Line Agency
LB	Local Bodies
LSGA	Nepal Self-Governance Act
LSGR	Local Self-Governance Regulations
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoF	Ministry of Finance

MoFALD	Ministry of Federal Affairs and Local development
NC	Nepali Congress
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NLSS	Nepal Living Standard Survey
NPC	Nepal Planning Commission
PAF	Poverty Alleviation Fund
PMAS	Poverty Monitoring and Analysis System
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SDC	Swiss Development Cooperation
SLC	School Leaving Certificate
SPSS	Software Program for Social Science
TVDP	Tribhuvan Village Development Program
UG	User group
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States
VDC	Village Development Committee
WDO	Women Development Office
WB	World Bank
WSSO	Water and Sanitation Sub-division Office

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# **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

## **1.1.Introduction**

This study discusses the sociological aspects and dimensions of poverty. Similarly, it deals with development interventions in the name of poverty alleviation. To make free from this vicious poverty situation, Nepal has taken the objective of reducing poverty through various development plans as a first priority of the nation. For the development of any country, Periodic Plans define the objective and goals of the development. The Periodic Development Plans of Nepal have also defined the objectives, goals, strategies and indicators of the desired development; overall objective of which is to alleviate poverty. Most of the development interventions are locally targeted and interim which do not try to implement structural change across the whole society.

The aim of this introductory Chapter is to present the research problem of the study. This Chapter also provides some background of the study, as well as its objectives and significance. Furthermore, it presents an overview of all conceptual framework of the study. Finally, it deals with organisation of the study and limitations as well.

## **1.2.Statement of the Problem**

In Nepal, one-fourth of the population still lives below poverty line. The majority of the poor live mainly in rural areas and engage in traditional and subsistence farming on small plots of low quality land, have limited access to credit, infrastructure, markets and basic social services, often because of remoteness, and rely heavily on seasonal migration and remittance.

In spite of some progress in poverty reduction in recent years, Nepal remains one of the poorest countries in the world, with a Human Development Index of 0.463, placing it 157th out of 187 countries listed in the United Nations

Development Programme's Human Development Report 2013 (Malik, 2013). Over 30 per cent of Nepalese live on less than US\$14 per person, per month, according to the National Living Standards Survey(NLSS) conducted in 2010-2011. As can be seen from Table 1, while the overall poverty rate for Nepal is 25 per cent, this figure increases to 45 per cent in the Mid-Western region and 46 per cent in the Far-Western region (CBS, 2011).

**Table 1.1: Poverty line in local prices and spatial price index**

Analytical Domain	Poverty Lines*			Spatial price indices		
	Food	Non-food	Overall	Food	Non-food	Overall
Mountains	13,295	6,564	19,859	1.114	0.895	1.031
Urban – Kathmandu	14,610	26,323	40,933	1.225	3.590	2.125
Urban – Hill	11,805	7,772	19,577	0.990	1.060	1.016
Urban –Terai	11,743	9,390	21,133	0.984	1.281	1.097
Rural Hills – Eastern	12,297	4,254	16,551	1.031	0.580	0.859
Rural Hills –Central	12,240	6,448	18,689	1.026	0.880	0.970
Rural Hills – Western	12,537	5,891	18,428	1.051	0.804	0.957
Rural Hills - Mid and						
Far Western	11,772	4,583	16,355	0.987	0.625	0.849
Rural Terai – Eastern	11,333	5,524	16,856	0.950	0.753	0.875
Rural Terai – Central	11,257	6,283	17,540	0.944	0.857	0.911
Rural Terai -						
Western	10,600	5,398	15,998	0.889	0.736	0.831
Rural Terai - Mid and						
Far Western	10,998	6,321	17,319	0.922	0.862	0.899
Nepal	11,929	7,332	19,261	1.000	1.000	1.000

Source: CBS, 2011

In order to overcome poverty, the government has increased the budget for targeted social programs, for the poor, women, and people from disadvantaged

castes and ethnic groups. Special grants have been made for the improvement of child nutrition in the *Karnali* region and other marginalised areas. However, the analysis of hunger shows that the progress is still very slow. The number of underweight children below five is still 38.6 percent and 39 percent of children do not meet the expected growth levels. Likewise, 36.15 percent of the population (the poor and geographically and socially excluded groups) is still deprived of the minimum food requirement, and about 47 percent children less than five years of age are stunted (NPC/UNCTN, 2010)

This study takes sociological perspective in analysing social structure, poverty and development interventions. Sociological facts emerge from psychological facts (Nadel, 1957) and consider the institutional vision of social structure. From this point of view, the basic elements of social structure are the norms, beliefs, and values that regulate social action. A complete, influential sociological tradition understands social structure to be an institutional structure—namely, a set of cultural and normative models that define actors' expectations about behavior. One of the objectives of the social structure theory of Blau (1977b) is to explain certain forms of social inequality.

Nepal completed over five and a half decades of planned socio-economic development. However, we are not able to provide full employment to all the economically active people, especially the people belonging to remote areas and marginalised communities. People living in any corner of the country should have equal rights to get benefits of the development process. The development results should be realised by the concerned stakeholders. The Karnali region of the country is believed to have lagged behind in comparison to other regions in most of the development results. Realising the facts, the Government as well as other Donors has emphasised their efforts on the overall development of the Karnali region (NPC, 2012).

In this context, some studies have been carried out focusing on the development, poverty of Nepal as a whole; however, in poverty interventions issues focusing on social structure haven't been explored yet. So, this study

attempted to analyse the visions of social structure, poverty and contemporary development interventions of Rural Nepal.

For this study, following research questions have been developed.

- How poverty is rooted in the social structure at the micro level?
- How have been the existing development interventions contributing to poverty ?
- How are social structure, poverty and development interventions interconnected?

Most of the development agendas in developing countries and least developed countries revolve around poverty alleviation. Rural poverty is also webbed into social norms and practices, culture and traditions apart from material lacks. Development interventions in Nepal have become significantly ineffective in making the rural population self-reliant, productive and enterprising. Rather than breaking the existing counter-productive social structure, most of the poverty focused development interventions have promoted dependency. This phenomenon has been a serious problem for Nepal's attempt to modernise and develop its economy and society. This research revolves around this social structure and development paradox.

### **1.3. Objectives of the Study**

General objective of the proposed research is to understand social structure and development interventions in the production, reproduction and reduction of poverty. Following are the specific objectives of the study.

- To find out the visions of social structure at the micro-level and their relations to poverty
- To analyse development interventions in the name of poverty alleviation and their impact on life of rural people
- To explore the interconnectedness of social structure, poverty and development interventions

## **1.4. Significance of the Study**

The study of general and local level development interventions shows the distinction between poverty policies, programs and impact on poverty reductions. Poverty is a multidimensional fact and so the issues related with many different aspects. It is a big challenge not only for Nepal but also for other least development countries of the world. It is also a great concern of developed countries because direct or indirect they are also affected by the problem. Nepal has attempted to declare its commitment explicitly and consistently to alleviate poverty since last two and half decade's especially since its seventh periodic plan. This study made a serious review and reflection of the development intervention towards poverty reduction being implemented since a long time and analyse their impacts in the lives of local people.

Dolpa, the research area of the study, is one of the least densely populated areas of Nepal. Its inhabitants wrest survival from this inhospitable landscape by synergizing agriculture, animal husbandry, and trade. Dolpo's agro-pastoral livelihood is characterised by migrations between permanent villages and pastures at higher altitudes. More than ninety percent of the population lives under the poverty line, literacy is low, and life expectancy is a mere fifty years.

It was felt that there was a need to undertake an independent micro-level study to seek fresh opinions and views of the grassroots peoples on poverty from the primary as well as the secondary sources to review and analyse the past practices of development interventions to reduce poverty. It is hoped that this study would add some knowledge by reflecting on the past efforts in reducing poverty and to educate the common peoples about the real situation of implementation of development interventions for poverty alleviation. This study also examines the effects of social structure in inducing or reducing poverty.

## **1.5. Synopsis of the Relevant Literature**

### **1.5.1 Visions of Social Structure**

Social Structure is a term used in the social sciences to refer to patterned social arrangements in society that are both emergent from and determinant of the actions of the individuals. The usage of the term "social structure" has changed over time and may reflect the various levels of analysis within differing sub-fields of sociology. On the macro scale, it can refer to the system of socioeconomic stratification (e.g., the class structure), social institutions, or, other patterned relations between large social groups. On the meso scale, it can refer to the structure of social network ties between individuals or organisations. On the micro scale, it can refer to the way norms shape the behavior of actors within the social system.

Sociological facts emerge from psychological facts (Nadel, 1957). Giddens proposes three kinds of structure in a social system. The first is signification, where meaning is coded in the practice of language and discourse. The second is legitimation, consisting of the normative perspectives embedded as societal norms and values (Giddens, 1984).

Social Structure is one of the basic concepts of sociology. The notion of social structure as relationships between different entities or groups or as enduring and relatively stable patterns of relationship emphasises the idea that society is grouped into structurally related groups or sets of roles, with different functions, meanings or purposes. One example of social structure is the idea of "social stratification", which refers to the idea that society is separated into different strata, according to social distinctions such as a race, class and gender. Social treatment of persons within various social structures can be understood as related to their placement within the various social strata. The notion of structure as embedded institutions or norms that shape the actions of social agents is important, as structural determination may occur as the actions of

people and organisations are guided partially by the underlying structures in the social system (Clert, 1999).

There are two broad visions of social structure that have been most influential in sociological thought. On the one hand, we considered the institutional or cultural vision of social structure, for which the basic elements are the norms, beliefs, and values that regulate social action. From this point of view, social structure is an institutional structure –namely, a set of cultural and normative models that define the actors' expectations about their behavior. We have also explained how this cultural vision of social structure has developed theoretically in structural functionalism and in the work of its most outstanding representative, Talcott Parsons(1949), and, more recently, in neo-institutionalism. On the other hand, we distinguished the relational vision, for which the elements that make up the social structure are, basically, social relations. From this point of view, the analysis of the social structure focuses on the issue of social relations that connects individuals, groups, organisations, communities, and societies. Modern network analysis exemplifies this second vision very well (Bernardi, González & Requena, 2007).

### **1.5.2 Poverty Dynamics and Dimensions**

The poor are those who cannot acquire the minimum level of basic needs and are unable to escape from such situation by transferring poverty from one generation to the next. There may be as much perception of poor and poverty as there are human beings. Poverty is the condition of possessing an income insufficient to maintain a minimal standard of living. Definitions of poverty are culturally specific, and thus relative to the social norms and expectations endemic to a given nation. Poverty is a state of being deprived of the essentials of well being such as adequate housing, food, sufficient income, employment, access to required social services and social status. The term poverty is mostly conformed to the economic aspect of an individual, household, society, or a nation. The state



of poverty of an individual, family or society is also a matter of subjective perception (Townsend, 1987).

Latest estimates of poverty in Nepal are based on the third round of the Nepal Living Standards Survey (NLSS-III, 2010-11). The survey methodology as well as the technique for poverty estimation follow international best practices and benefited from World Bank technical assistance. NLSS-III has been conducted with financial assistance from DFID, DanIDA, WFP and the World Bank (CBS, 2011).

The poverty line establishes the distinction between who is poor and who is not. In particular, according to the 2010-11 poverty line, an individual in Nepal is considered poor if his/her per-capita total annual consumption is below Rs. 19,261. According to the new poverty line, the poverty incidence (headcount rate) for Nepal in 2010-11 is 25.16 percent. The poverty rate is much lower in urban areas (15.46 percent) than in rural areas (27.43 percent) (CBS, 2011).

### **1.5.3 Development Interventions**

The lighthouse of development was erected after the second world war. Following the breakdown of the European colonial powers, the United States found an opportunity to give worldwide dimensions to the mission their founding fathers had bequeathed to them: to be the 'beacon on the hill'. They launched the idea of development with a call to every nation to follow in their footsteps. Since then, the relations between North and South have been cast in this mould: 'Development' provided the fundamental frame of reference for that mixture of generosity, bribery and oppression which has characterised the policies toward the South. For almost half a century, good neighbourliness on the planet was conceived in the light of 'Development' (Sachs, (Ed.) 1997).

In Sept 2000, 147 heads of state and government and 191 nations endorsed Millennium Declaration in UN global conference. This conference set out the

key global development goals and targets. List of the goals and targets became known as the international development targets (IDT). The set goals and targets are known as “Millennium Development Goals” (MDGs). The MDGs, which incorporates the IDTs, synthesise the goals and targets for monitoring the human development. They are centered on the eight major goals. 1.Eradication of poverty and hunger 2.Achieve universal primary education 3.Promote gender equality and empower women 4.Reduce child mortality 5.Improve maternal health 6.Combat HIVand AIDS, Malaria and other diseases 7. Ensure environmental sustainability 8.Develop a global partnership for development (NPC, 2002).

”Development,” though understood differently by different groups of people, has today taken the center stage in the minds and lives of the Nepalese people. There have been extensive debates, both academic and non-academic, on various facet of development and/or underdevelopment of the country at different levels, but seriously focused debate on developmental practices in Nepal has been lacking. Development could either be state-led, market-led, NGO-led, or people/community-based. There is an urgent need to understand and analyse in depth these strategies and to prioritise them. (Bhattachan and Mishra, 2000).

Development planning and practices in Nepal generally suffer from lack of authentic data and information, with regard to the problems and aspirations of people who live in thousands of villages across the country. Most plans are formulated by the so called 'exports' of Planning Commission based on information collected by the personnel of district level line agencies. In such a situation, people in villages belonging to several communities become more recipients, which these line agencies claim to be beneficiaries but are rarely considered as active partners in the process of nation building. These line agencies go to the poor communities in the grab of ambassadors of goodwill, with packed program with hardly give the people a chance to determine the

course of change they want, and the medium and pace through which they refer to achieve it (Devkota, 1999). It has been argued that inadequate meaningful participation of people in the planning and implementation of development interventions.

The past 25 years have witnessed unprecedented changes around the world - many of them for the better. Across the continents, many countries have embarked on a path of international integration, economic reform, technological modernisation, and democratic participation. As a result, economies that had been stagnant for decades are growing, people whose families had suffered deprivation for generations are escaping poverty, and hundreds of millions are enjoying the benefits of improved living standards and scientific and cultural sharing across nations. As the world changes, a host of opportunities arise constantly. With them, however, appear old and new risks, from the possibility of job loss and disease to the potential for social unrest and environmental damage. If ignored, these risks can turn into crises that reverse hard-won gains and endanger the social and economic reforms that produced these gains (WorldBank, 2011). Social Structure and development interventions reinforce these changes and are influenced by these changes.

The transplantation of foreign aid in a country without a social structure that is conducive to development can result in a cancerous type of growth...The problem is that only a few countries among the bilateral donors to Nepal have contributed aid in a manner that can lead to self sustained growth (Quoted in Bista, 1991, p. 149). Hence it can be argued that social structures determine the success of development interventions as well as both the production and alleviation of poverty. Problematic are social conditions in which one cannot work even if he wants to and a social structure under which, however hard he may work, one cannot succeed. An ideal society will allow men to work hard and guarantee success to hard working men. A developing and healthy society should

motivate men to engage in diligent labor and reward hard work accordingly (quoted in Bista, 1991 p. 150).

While the interaction of social structure, poverty and development interventions has been explored extensively in the existing literature (Clert, 1999, Sachs, W. (Ed.), 1997), Giddens 1984, Worldbank, 2011) not a single research the knowledge of this author, has explored this interaction in the context of Nepal's rural poverty. This research is an attempt to bridge this knowledge gap in the existing literature.

## **1.6. Conceptual Framework**

Sociological facts emerge from psychological facts (Nadel, 1957). Giddines proposes three kinds of structure in a social system. The first is signification, where meaning is coded in the practice of language and discourse. The second is legitimating, consisting of the normative perspectives embedded as societal norms and values (Giddens, 1984). The term 'structure' refers to "some sort of ordered arrangement of parts or components". A musical composition has a structure, a sentence has a structure, a molecule or an animal has a structure and so on. A structure that can be called a building can be obtained only when all parts or components are properly ordered and arranged one in relationship with the other. In the same way society too has its own structure called 'social structure' (Kuper, 2004). Understanding this structure is very crucial in order to analyse the roots of various problems, such as poverty in any society.

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structure is very crucial in order to analyse the roots of various problems, such as poverty in any society.

Historically, the poor emerge when society elects to recognize poverty as specific persons to that category. The fact that some people may privately consider themselves poor is sociologically related. On the one hand, we considered the institutional or cultural vision of social structure, for which the basic elements are the norms, beliefs, and values that regulate social action. From this point of view, social structure is an institutional structure-namely, a set of cultural and normative models that define the actors' expectations about their behavior. We have also explained how this cultural vision of social structure has developed theoretically in structural functionalism and in the work of its most outstanding representative, Talcott Parsons, and, more recently, in neo-institutionalism. On the other hand, we distinguished the relational vision, for which the elements that make up the social structure are, basically, social relations. From this point of view, the analysis of the social structure focuses on the tissue of social relations that connects individuals, groups, organisations, communities, and societies. Modern network analysis exemplifies this second vision very well (Bernardi, González & Requena, 2007).

Poverty as a public policy concern, whether at the global, national or community level, is now widely considered to be a multidimensional problem. Over the last few decades, new perspectives on poverty have challenged the focus on income and consumption as the defining condition of poor people (Bhusal, 2011). Studies of the problems of poor people and communities, and of the obstacles and opportunities to improving their situation; have led to an understanding of poverty as a complex set of deprivations. These alternative perspectives have refocused the concept of poverty as a human condition that reflects failures in many dimensions of human life – hunger, unemployment, homelessness, illness and health care, powerlessness and victimisation, and social injustice; they all add up to an assault on human dignity.

Strategies to eradicate poverty require not only economic growth and redistribution but also direct intervention in many areas such as expanding education, removing discrimination and securing social injustice; different types of deprivations in human lives are interrelated and reinforce one another. For example, lack of education often defines the condition of a poor person but it is also an obstacle to other important aspects of a person's wellbeing, e.g. employment and income, good health and health care and other basic amenities such as clean water and sanitation. These are also interrelated with discrimination and lack of access to justice (Townsend, 2006).

Does globalisation, as its advocates maintain, help spread the wealth? Or, as its critics charge, does globalisation hurt the poor? In a new book titled *Globalisation and Poverty*, edited by Ann Harrison, 15 economists consider these and other questions. Harrison summarises many of the findings in the book. Her central conclusion is that the poor will indeed benefit from globalisation if the appropriate complementary policies and institutions are in place. Most of the evidence on the links between globalisation and poverty is indirect. To be sure, as developing countries have become increasingly integrated into the world trading system over the past 20 years, world poverty rates have steadily fallen. Yet little evidence exists to show a clear-cut cause-and-effect relationship between these two phenomena (Harrison, 2006).

Many of the studies in *Globalisation and Poverty* in fact suggest that globalisation has been associated with rising inequality, and that the poor do not always share in the gains from trade. Other themes emerge from the book. One is that the poor in countries with an abundance of unskilled labor do not always gain from trade reform. Another is that the poor are more likely to share in the gains from globalisation when workers enjoy maximum mobility, especially from contracting economic sectors into expanding sectors (India and Colombia). Gains likewise arise when poor farmers have access to credit and technical know-how (Zambia), when poor farmers have such social safety nets

as income support (Mexico) and when food aid is well targeted (Ethiopia) (Harrison, 2006).

People must not be allowed to become so poor that they offend or are hurtful to society. It is not so much the misery and plight of the poor but the discomfort and cost to the community, which is crucial to this view of poverty. We have a problem of poverty to the extent that low income creates problems for those who are not poor. It is the common end of the most diverse destinies, an ocean into which lives derived from the most diverse social strata flow together. No change, no development, no polarisation, or breakdown of social life occurs without leaving its residuum in the stratum of poverty. Thus, what makes one poor is not the lack of means. The poor person, sociologically speaking, is the individual who receives assistance because of this lack of means (Simmel and Jacobson, 1965). One of the key factors that led to the emergence of sociology was research into poverty. In both Britain and France the rise of sociology was accompanied by poverty studies.

The basic elements of social structure are the norms, beliefs, and values that regulate social action. A complete, influential sociological tradition understands social structure to be an institutional structure—namely, a set of cultural and normative models that define actors' expectations about behavior. The structural sociology that favors the ideational contexts of action—for example, norms, beliefs, values—has clear antecedents in the currents of thought that defend some kind of cultural determinism of human behavior (Bernardi, González & Requena, 2007). A norm is a group-held belief about how members should behave in a given context. Sociologists describe norms as informal understandings that govern society's behaviors. Norms running counter to the behaviors of the overarching society or culture may be transmitted and maintained within small subgroups of society.

Government of Nepal has formulated strategy objectives supportive towards devolution for local development. There is no clear allocation of the co-

ordination accountability including Development Partner efforts and ownership of the decentralisation process where MoFALD, MoF, NPC and other line ministries follow their own agendas and objectives. Enormous amount of resources (both financial and technical) were poured in by Development Partner agencies, in fact there were cut-throat competition among Development Partner agencies to carry the country in this respect, to conceive and prepare LSGA and Regulations including printing and distribution of the same. They provided theoretical and in order support for wider devolution of authority to LBs, institutionalizing the participatory planning at local levels, establishing local and municipal development funds, supported to establish the secretariat of Decentralisation Implementation and Monitoring Committee and Local Body Fiscal Commission.

So far the Donors have been providing supports in policy development, legal reforms and institutionalizing of the participatory planning and monitoring system. We have also seen as to how dependent the Nepal government became when accepting external support from Development Partner agencies in support of decentralisation. It could not afford to even print out the Local Self Governance Act and distribute them on her own. To undertake a small piece of work of translation or publishing some reports, government looks for support from Development Partner agencies and government employees, NGO activists and even the people would not even attend a meeting or a workshop if some allowances are not provided.

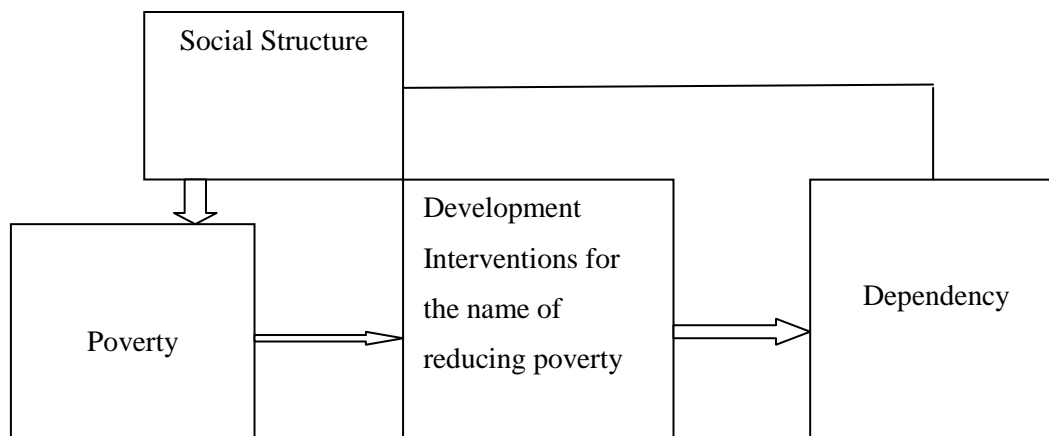
Poverty is inter-related to other problems of underdevelopment. In rural and urban communities, poverty can be very different. In urban areas people often have access to health and education but many of the problems caused by poverty are made worse by things like overcrowding, unhygienic conditions, pollution, unsafe houses etc. In rural areas there is often poor access to education, health and many other services.



The existing social structure is one of the prominent factors behind Nepal's persistent poverty. Although consumption based absolute poverty has been reduced because of various development interventions, these interventions have largely failed to make rural people self-reliant. Indeed such interventions perpetuated dependency which has supported to maintain the existing social structure.

This research aims to provide a through analysis of this vicious circle of backwardness in contemporary Nepali rural society. As shown in Figure 1 Existing Social Structure creates conditions for the production and reproduction of poverty. As most of the development interventions designed to overcome poverty do not attempt to correct social structure they lead to induce dependency. This dependency again reinforces existing social structure.

**Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework**



Source: The Author

The above conceptual framework has been developed and utilised to explore and examine the interconnectedness of social structure, poverty and development interventions.

## **1.7.Organisation of the Study**

This dissertation has been divided into seven Chapters and each one them contains different aspects. Chapter One is devoted to general background of social structure, poverty and development interventions and understanding issues and conceptual framework, including objectives, rationale and organisation of the Chapters.

Chapter Two provides a concise review of the available existing literature focusing on the interconnectedness among social structure, poverty and development interventions in Nepal. A historical context has also been considered while reviewing literature. At the same time, it briefly, sheds light on the development approaches carried out by the government since 1950 which still remains largely intact. Relevant information have been gathered and from secondary sources, where appropriate and necessary to support or refute the arguments in this and other Chapters.

Chapter Three deals with the methodology of the study. It sets different techniques applied to generate the required information and data to meet the study objectives. Since, qualitative approach is the strength of character of a sociological research; household opinion survey has been utilised as the resesrach method. House-hold survey, focus group discussions, and observations employed in this research to collect and triangulate data and information. Besides, come quantitative methods have also been used to enrich and support the findings obtained through key informants and observations. These tools and techniques have been helpful in analyzing the information and to make the study more robust.

Chapter Four describes the study area with its location, demographic structure and ethnic composition. Ward-wise household numbers, population and educational status of the people of the study area have been included. In addition, general work of the people and opportunity available to them are also examined in this chapter.

Chapter Five analysis the data collected from the field work in Dolpa. As illustrated in Chapter Three and Four, the household opinion survey, observation and focused group discussion were conducted in the Tripurakot of the Dolpa district. In this Chapter all the responses received from the household survey, observation and focused group discussion has been analysed and presented in a systematic manner. The analysis attempts to answer the research questions by showing the interconnectedness of visions of social structure and poverty in the study area.

The analysis shows that some of the existing social structures in the study areas are supportive of creating and maintaining poverty. These structures also hamper people to come out of poverty and traditional mode of living.

Chapter Six presents the empirical materials about the impact of various development interventions on poverty and other aspects of rural lives. The Chapter explores of the overall national context of development interventions and their impacts at the household level in the study area. It has been observed that development interventions, such as Food Aid Programme, Poverty Allivation Programme, Karnali Employment Programme and other regular programme of the central and local government, have played a crucial role in terms of addressing some of the immediate difficulties in the lives of the rural people. However, these programmes have been found to be dependency-inducing in the longer term. In order to demonstrate this rather unusual situation, analysis of the secondary information has been corroborated/triangulated with the survey data collected by the researcher.

The Final Chapter comprises the issues, summary and conclusions drawn from the study. The Chapter also presents some of the implication of the study. A glossary of various concepts and terminologies used in this dissertation has been presented in **Annex A**.

## **CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

### **2.1.Introduction**

This Chapter aims to review the existing sociological literature on the interconnectedness of the visions of social structure, poverty and development interventions. In doing this, it provides a brief review of the existing theories and practices of social structure, poverty and development intervention. It also makes a critical overview of the official poverty measurement along with the determinants and latest poverty trends and situation in Nepal. The Chapter also considers the relevant literature on the interface between social structure and various dimensions of poverty. It also provides a systematic review of development interventions in the rural context of Nepal. The role of development interventions in reducing poverty has also been the main focus of this review of literature.

### **2.2.The Concept of Social Structure**

Social Structure is a term used in the social sciences to refer to patterned social arrangements in society that are both emergent from and determinant of the actions of the individuals. The usage of the term "social structure" has changed over time and may reflect the various levels of analysis within differing sub-fields of sociology. On the macro scale, it can refer to the system of socioeconomic stratification (e.g., the class structure), social institutions, or, other patterned relations between large social groups. On the meso scale, it can refer to the structure of social network ties between individuals or organisations. On the micro scale, it can refer to the way norms shape the behavior of actors within the social system.

Sociological facts emerge from psychological facts (Nadel, 1957). Giddines proposes three kinds of structure in a social system. The first is signification, where meaning is coded in the practice of language and discourse. The second is

legitimation, consisting of the normative perspectives embedded as societal norms and values (Giddens, 1984).

Social Structure is one of the basic concepts of sociology. The notion of social structure as relationships between different entities or groups or as enduring and relatively stable patterns of relationship emphasises the idea that society is grouped into structurally related groups or sets of roles, with different functions, meanings or purposes. One example of social structure is the idea of "social stratification", which refers to the idea that society is separated into different strata, according to social distinctions such as a race, class and gender. Social treatment of persons within various social structures can be understood as related to their placement within the various social strata. The notion of structure as embedded institutions or norms that shape the actions of social agents is important, as structural determination may occur as the actions of people and organisations are guided partially by the underlying structures in the social system (Clert,1999). Social Structure is one of the basic concepts of sociology. The notion of social structure as relationships between different entities or groups or as enduring and relatively stable patterns of relationship emphasises the idea that society is grouped into structurally related groups or sets of roles, with different functions, meanings or purposes. One example of social structure is the idea of "social stratification", which refers to the idea that society is separated into different strata, according to social distinctions such as a race, class and gender. Social treatment of persons within various social structures can be understood as related to their placement within the various social strata. The notion of structure as embedded institutions or norms that shape the actions of social agents is important, as structural determination may occur as the actions of people and organisations are guided partially by the underlying structures in the social system (Parson, 1991). The other words, there tends to be a mutual relationship between social structure and particular role of people in different social groups.

The term 'structure' refers to "some sort of ordered arrangement of parts or components". A musical composition has a structure, a sentence has a structure, a molecule or an animal has a structure and so on. A structure that can be called a building can be obtained only when all parts or components are properly ordered and arranged one in relationship with the other. In the same way society too has its own structure called 'social structure' (Kuper, 2004). Understanding this structure is very crucial in order to analyse the roots of various problems, such as poverty in any society.

There are two broad visions of social structure that have been most influential in sociological thought. On the one hand, we considered the institutional or cultural vision of social structure, for which the basic elements are the norms, beliefs, and values that regulate social action. From this point of view, social structure is an institutional structure-namely, a set of cultural and normative models that define the actors' expectations about their behavior. We have also explained how this cultural vision of social structure has developed theoretically in structural functionalism and in the work of its most outstanding representative, Talcott Parsons, and, more recently, in neo-institutionalism. On the other hand, we distinguished the relational vision, for which the elements that make up the social structure are, basically, social relations. From this point of view, the analysis of the social structure focuses on the tissue of social relations that connects individuals, groups, organisations, communities, and societies. Modern network analysis exemplifies this second vision very well (Bernardi, González & Requena, 2007).

The concept of social structure has a long history in the social sciences. It goes back to the class structure analysis of Karl Marx in nineteenth century. Later on, footing on Herbert Spencer, Ferdinand Tonnies, Émile Durkheim, and Georg Simmel have studied social structure and it's underlying human interaction. One of the earliest and most comprehensive accounts of social structure was provided by Karl Marx, who related political, cultural, and religious life to the

mode of production (an underlying economic structure). Marx argued that the economic base substantially determined the cultural and political superstructure of a society. Subsequent Marxist accounts, such as that by Louis Althusser, proposed a more complex relationship that asserted the relative autonomy of cultural and political institutions, and a general determination by economic factors only "in the last instance"1905, the German sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies first published his study *The Present Problems of Social Structure in the United States*, arguing that only the constitution of a multitude into a unity does create a "social structure"( Merton, 1968).

Emile Durkheim (drawing on the analogies between biological and social systems popularised by Herbert Spencer and others) introduced the idea that diverse social institutions and practices played a role in assuring the functional integration of society — the assimilation of diverse parts into a unified and self-reproducing whole. In this context, Durkheim distinguished two forms of structural relationship: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. The former describes structures that unite similar parts through a shared culture; the latter describes differentiated parts united through exchange and material interdependence. The notion of social structure has been extensively developed in the twentieth century, with key contributions from structuralism perspectives drawing on the structuralism of Levi-Strauss, Feminist or Marxist perspectives, from functionalist perspectives such as those developed by Talcott Parsons and his followers, or from a variety of analytic perspectives. Some follow Marx in trying to identify the basic dimensions of society that explain the other dimensions, most emphasizing either economic production or political power. Others follow Levi-Strauss in seeking logical order in cultural structures. Still others, notably Peter Blau (1964), follow Georg Simmel in attempting to base a formal theory of social structure on numerical patterns in relationships—analyzing, for example, the ways in which factors like group size shape inter group relations.

### **2.3. The Concept of Poverty**

The poor are those who cannot acquire the minimum level of basic needs and are unable to escape from such situation by transferring poverty from one generation to the next. There may be as much perception of poor and poverty as there are human beings. However, poverty is the condition of possessing an income insufficient to maintain a minimal standard of living. Definitions of poverty are culturally specific, and thus relative to the social norms and expectations endemic to a given nation. Poverty is a state of being deprived of the essentials of well being such as adequate housing, food, sufficient income, employment, access to required social services and social status. The term poverty is mostly conformed to the economic aspect of an individual, household, society, or a nation. The state of poverty of an individual, family or society is a matter of subjective perception (Hulme, Moore, & Shepherd, 2001).

Historically, the poor emerge when society elects to recognize poverty as specific persons to that category. The fact that some people may privately consider themselves poor is sociologically irrelevant. What is sociologically relevant is poverty as a socially recognised condition, as a social status. We are concerned with poverty as a property of social structure (Coser, 1965). To make poverty alleviation more effective, we must not look at poverty as mere deficiency but should try to understand how poor people survive. We must understand the existing strategies of survival as the rural poor follow a different logic than commercial farmers. Survival is based on a combination of on- and off-farm activities and the use of social networks integrated in a local moral economy. The actions of poor people are embedded in complex and dynamic social fields which have to be understood from a micro-perspective (Neubert, 2000).

Poverty as a public policy concern, whether at the global, national or community level, is now widely considered to be a multidimensional problem. Over the last few decades, new perspectives on poverty have challenged the focus on income



and consumption as the defining condition of poor people (Bhusal, 2011). Studies of the problems of poor people and communities, and of the obstacles and opportunities to improving their situation; have led to an understanding of poverty as a complex set of deprivations. These alternative perspectives have refocused the concept of poverty as a human condition that reflects failures in many dimensions of human life – hunger, unemployment, homelessness, illness and health care, powerlessness and victimisation, and social injustice; they all add up to an assault on human dignity.

Strategies to eradicate poverty require not only economic growth and redistribution but also direct intervention in many areas such as expanding education, removing discrimination and securing social justice; different types of deprivations in human lives are interrelated and reinforce one another. For example, lack of education often defines the condition of a poor person but it is also an obstacle to other important aspects of a person's wellbeing, e.g. employment and income, good health and health care and other basic amenities such as clean water and sanitation. These are also interrelated with discrimination and lack of access to justice (Townsend, 2006).

Since the beginning of the Neolithic era, problem of poverty has gradually taken its shape. Long before the emergence of 'Modern Nepal' the communal forms of self-sustaining village economy was the modality of political economy of the then community and the land –the sole life supporting means of production was under the community ownership has drastically changed in favor of emerging state ( Seddon, 1990 pp.90). Most of the means of the production become private property and the profit motive leads the surplus production activities, which push forward the societal development of human history (Mishra,1987 )

However, in many cultures of the world, poor are not always the opposite of rich. During 9th century in Europe, respect and admires were given to those who choose the life as volunteer poor since they could practice the freedom and

were not enforced to join in the army to exercise the authority power (Sachs, 2000). The materialistic factor includes discrimination, inequality, political or other form of domination, none-availability of minimum basic necessities (food, house, cloths, sex, education, health, sanitation, social respect, future security, etc.), which are required for the economical, social or biological survival as defined in the particular culture. The materialistic poverty may also include exclusion from the education and opportunities (Panday, 1999).

The World Bank definition led to the great transformation, which disturbed the traditional relationship between society and the economy. Hence, the traditional concept of perceiving poor was totally changed and all humanitarian values were converted into the pure monetary term. Currently, s/he is said to be poor who earns less than 1 US dollar; or consumes less calorie, has no access to the radio, TV, education, etc, or has lower HRD index. It is a long list defined by all for the sake own interest and usage. Moreover, President Herry S. Truman on the inaugural speech on the 20th of January 1949 said: “We must embark [go on board] on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and individuals progress available for an improvement and growth of the underdeveloped areas” (Sachs, 2000).

One of the most common fallacies of the rich is that the poor have little bargaining power and can be conveniently ignored. This is a mistake that the rich no longer make within national orders since they have witnessed too longer make history the violent overthrow of the privileged minority whenever the poor masses became desperate and organised. More over national governments, however much they may depend on their alliance with vested interest groups; always keep looking over their shoulders to appease the poor majority lest their economic and social conditions become intolerable. With the gradual evolution of national orders, the poor have not themselves organised in many countries in to formidable countervailing power to the entrenched interests of the rich, mainly through we see the same skepticism about the real bargaining power or the poor

at a time when we are probably witnessing the established of a trade union of the poor nations (UIHaq 1976). The failure of the world society to provide a safe and happy life for all is not caused by any present lack of physical resources. The problem today is not one of absolute physical shortages but monetary and social mal-distribution and mistreatment of these resources.

## Poverty Dynamics in Nepal

Latest estimates of poverty in Nepal are based on the third round of the Nepal Living Standards Survey (NLSS-III, 2010-11). The survey methodology as well as the technique for poverty estimation follow international best practices and benefited from World Bank technical assistance. NLSS-III has been conducted with financial assistance from DFID, DanIDA, WFP and the World Bank (CBS, 2011).

The poverty line establishes the distinction between who is poor and who is not. In particular, according to the 2010-11 poverty line, an individual in Nepal is considered poor if his/her per-capita total annual consumption is below Rs. 19,261. According to the new poverty line, the poverty incidence (headcount rate) for Nepal in 2010-11 is 25.16 percent. The poverty rate is much lower in urban areas (15.46 percent) than in rural areas (27.43 percent) (CBS, 2011).

**Table 2.1: Poverty outline by analytical area**

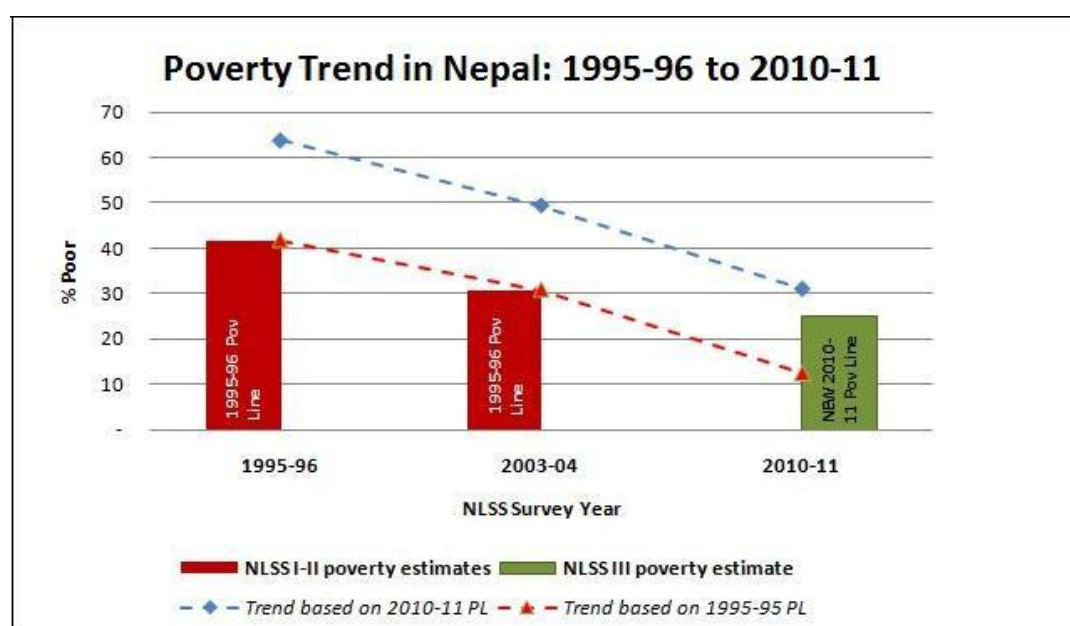
		Incidence		Distribution	
			Poverty gap		
Region	Headcount	Poverty gap	Squared	of the	of the
	rate	(x100)	(x100)	poor	Population
Urban	15.46	3.19	1.01	11.7	19.0
Rural	27.43	5.96	2.00	88.3	81.0
Eastern	21.44	3.81	1.01	19.8	23.3

		Incidence		Distribution	
Central	21.69	4.96	1.76	30.8	35.7
Western	22.25	4.27	1.38	16.9	19.2
Midwestern	31.68	7.74	2.69	16.4	13.0
Farwestern	45.61	10.74	3.77	16.0	8.8
Mountain	42.27	10.14	3.54	11.8	7.0
Hill	24.32	5.69	2.09	42.8	44.2
Terai	23.44	4.52	1.31	45.4	48.7
Mountains	42.27	10.14	3.54	11.8	7.0
Urban – Kathmandu	11.47	2.77	1.00	2.6	5.7
Urban – Hill	8.72	1.75	0.54	1.5	4.4
Urban – Terai	22.04	4.31	1.29	7.5	8.6
Rural Hills – Eastern	15.93	2.91	0.82	4.0	6.3
Rural Hills –Central	29.37	8.52	3.70	10.8	9.3
Rural Hills – Western	28.01	5.31	1.75	10.5	9.5
Rural Hills - Mid and	36.83	8.89	3.13	13.3	9.1
Far Western					
Rural Terai – Eastern	20.97	3.67	0.91	9.6	11.6
Rural Terai – Central	23.13	4.14	1.08	13.9	15.1
Rural Terai – Western	22.31	4.40	1.35	5.9	6.6
Rural Terai - Mid and Far Western	31.09	7.17	2.47	8.5	6.9
Nepal	25.16	5.43	1.81	100.0	100.0

Source: CBS, 2011

Comparison of changes in poverty over time has to be done carefully when poverty line or the minimum welfare threshold to be considered not poor has been increased as in Nepal. Comparing poverty estimates at two different poverty lines (two different minimum real welfare levels) at two points of time would under-estimate progress in poverty reduction (CBS, 2011). A simple comparison of poverty in 2010-11 (25.2 percent) with the estimate in the past for 1995-96 (41.8 percent) and 2003-04 (30.8 percent) shows that poverty has been on decline.

**Figure No. 2: Poverty Trend in Nepal**



The decline is greater if one were to use unchanged poverty lines over the entire period close to 30 percentage point decline in the last 15 years. The progress in poverty reduction is about the same and significant measured either in terms of the old or new (higher) poverty line. Figure 2.1 shows changes in poverty over time using the old 1995-96 poverty line (approach 1) and changes based on the “new”, more generous 2010-11 poverty line (CBS, 2011).

## **2.4.The Idea and Practice of Development Interventions**

In most discussions, development was conceived in terms of a set of desirable results higher incomes, longer life expectancy, lower infant mortality, more education. Recently emphasis has shifted from the results to the enabling conditions, strategies and public policies for achieving those results—peace, democracy, social freedoms, equal access, laws, institutions, markets, infrastructure, education and technology (Sen, 1999). But still little attention has been placed on the underlying social process of development that determines how society formulates, adopts, initiates, and organizes, and few attempts have been made to formulate such a framework. Second, a very large number of factors and conditions influence the process. In addition to all the variables that influence material and biological processes, social processes involve the interaction of political, social, economic cultural, technological and environmental factors as well (Giddens, A. 1986).

Development theorists have not only to cope with atoms, molecules, material energy and various life forms. They must also cope with the near infinite variety and complexity of human beliefs, opinions, attitudes, values, behaviors, customs, prejudices, laws, social institutions, etc. Third, the timeframe for social development theory cannot be confined to the modern day or even the past few centuries. Human development has been occurring for millennia. The basic principles of development theory must be as applicable to the development of early tribal societies as they are to the emergence of the post-modern global village. Development theory must be a theory of how human society advances through space and time (Jacobs and Cleveland, 1999).

Material and biological sciences focus on the interaction of physical conditions, materials and forces to generate results. The tendency to view social development in the same way has led to a host of mathematical equations seeking to define and predict the consequences of combining different external

variables in different proportions and under different conditions. The underlying assumption of this approach is that development is determined by external conditions. The hypothesis on which our attempt at theory is based is that social development is determined by human beings, not external conditions. External conditions certainly can and do influence the process. People may even act and react in predictable ways to a given set of external conditions. But the results of any development equation cannot be reliably predicted on the basis of external factors. Human development is determined by human responses based on choices made by people. To our knowledge, external forces alone have never unleashed a process of social development, but there are countless instances in which external agents have failed to do so (Jacobs and Cleveland, 1999).

If societies believes that people should not be permitted to die of starvation or exposure, than it will define poverty as the lack of minimum food and shelter necessary to maintain life. If society feels some responsibly for providing to all persons an establishment measure of well being beyond mere existence, for example, good physical health, then it will add to its list of necessities the resources required to prevent or cure sickness. At any given time a policy definition reflects a balancing of community capabilities and desires. In low income societies the community finds it impossible to worry much beyond physical survival. Other societies more able to support their dependent citizens, begin to consider the effects that pauperism will have on the poor and nor poor alike (Plenty, 1969).

Human development is a function of human awareness, aspirations, attitudes and values. Like all human creative processes, it is a process of self-conception. As the writer, artist, composer, political visionary and businessman conceive of unrealised possibilities and pour forth their creative energies to give expression to them, the social collective evolves a conception of what it wants to become and by expressing its creative energies through myriad forms of activity seeks to

transform its conception into social reality. The only major difference is that while the individual sometimes (but not always) is conscious of the conception he or she is trying to express, the society is usually (not always) unconscious of the idea and the urge that move it to create something more out of its own latent potential (Plenty, 1969).

As stated in the previous Chapter, Most plans are formulated by the so called 'exports' of Planning Commission based on information collected by the personnel of district level line agencies. In such a situation, people in villages belonging to several communities become more recipients, which these line agencies claim to be beneficiaries but are rarely considered as active partners in the process of nation building. These line agencies go to the poor communities in the grab of ambassadors of goodwill, with packed program with hardly give the people a chance to determine the course of change they want, and the medium and pace through which they refer to achieve it (Devkota, 1999).

The past 25 years have witnessed unprecedented changes around the world - many of them for the better. Across the continents, many countries have embarked on a path of international integration, economic reform, technological modernisation, and democratic participation. As a result, economies that had been stagnant for decades are growing, people whose families had suffered deprivation for generations are escaping poverty, and hundreds of millions are enjoying the benefits of improved living standards and scientific and cultural sharing across nations. As the world changes, a host of opportunities arise constantly. With them, however, appear old and new risks, from the possibility of job loss and disease to the potential for social unrest and environmental damage. If ignored, these risks can turn into crises that reverse hard-won gains and endanger the social and economic reforms that produced these gains (World Bank, 2011).



## **Globalization and Poverty**

Does globalisation, as its advocates maintain, help spread the wealth? Or, as its critics charge, does globalisation hurt the poor? In a new book titled *Globalisation and Poverty*, edited by Ann Harrison, 15 economists consider these and other questions. Harrison summarises many of the findings in the book. Her central conclusion is that the poor will indeed benefit from globalisation if the appropriate complementary policies and institutions are in place. Most of the evidence on the links between globalisation and poverty is indirect. To be sure, as developing countries have become increasingly integrated into the world trading system over the past 20 years, world poverty rates have steadily fallen. Yet little evidence exists to show a clear-cut cause-and-effect relationship between these two phenomena (Harrison, 2006).

Many of the studies in *Globalisation and Poverty* in fact suggest that globalisation has been associated with rising inequality, and that the poor do not always share in the gains from trade. Other themes emerge from the book. One is that the poor in countries with an abundance of unskilled labor do not always gain from trade reform. Another is that the poor are more likely to share in the gains from globalisation when workers enjoy maximum mobility, especially from contracting economic sectors into expanding sectors (India and Colombia). Gains likewise arise when poor farmers have access to credit and technical know-how (Zambia), when poor farmers have such social safety nets as income support (Mexico) and when food aid is well targeted (Ethiopia) (Harrison, 2006).

Without doubt, Harrison asserts, globalisation produces both winners and losers among the poor. In Mexico, for example, small and medium corn growers saw their incomes halved in the 1990s, while larger corn growers prospered. In other countries, poor workers in exporting sectors or in sectors with foreign investment gained from trade and investment reforms, while poverty rates increased in previously protected areas that were exposed to import

competition. Even within a country, a trade reform may hurt rural agricultural producers and benefit rural or urban consumers of those farmers' products (Harrison, 2006).

Harrison adds that more research is needed to identify whether labor legislation protects only the rights of those few workers who typically account for the formal sector in developing economies, or whether such legislation softens short-term adjustment costs and helps the labor force benefit from globalisation. Anti-sweatshop activism suggests that selective interventions may be successful in this regard (Harrison, 2006).

Harrison next notes that while many economists predicted that developing countries with great numbers of unskilled workers would benefit from globalisation through increased demand for their unskilled-intensive goods, this view is too simple and often inconsistent with the facts. Cross-country studies document that globalisation has been accompanied by increasing inequality within developing countries, suggesting an offset of some of the reductions in poverty.

Globalisation and Poverty yields several implications. First, impediments to exports from developing countries worsen poverty in those countries. Second, careful targeting is necessary to address the poor in different countries who are likely to be hurt by globalisation. Finally, the evidence suggests that relying on trade or foreign investment alone is not enough to alleviate poverty. The poor need education, improved infrastructure, access to credit and the ability to relocate out of contracting sectors into expanding ones to take advantage of trade reforms. (<http://www.nber.org/digest/mar07/w12347.html>).

There is a debate surrounding the globalization–poverty nexus, focusing on channels through which globalization affects the poor. Treating inequality as the filter between growth and poverty reduction, the causal chain of openness–growth–inequality–poverty is scrutinised, link by link. It then examines other

channels in the globalization–poverty nexus, such as differential factor movements, the nature of technological change and diffusion, the impact of globalization on volatility and vulnerability, the worldwide flow of information, global disinflation, and institutions ( Nissanke, and Thorbecke, 2006).

### **Sociology of Poverty: A Brief Discussion**

People must not be allowed to become so poor that they offended or are hurtful to society. It is not so much the misery and plight of the poor but the discomfort and cost to the community, which is crucial to this view of poverty. We have a problem of poverty to the extent that low income creates problems for those who are not poor. It is the common end of the most diverse destinies, an ocean into which lives derived from the most diverse social strata flow together. No change, no development, no polarisation, or breakdown of social life occurs without leaving its residuum in the stratum of poverty. Thus, what makes one poor is not the lack of means. The poor person, sociologically speaking, is the individual who receives assistance because of this lack of means (Simmel and Jacobson,1965). One of the key factors that led to the emergence of sociology was research into poverty. In both Britain and France the rise of sociology was accompanied by poverty studies.

### **Poverty and Social Structure**

The basic elements of social structure are the norms, beliefs, and values that regulate social action. A complete, influential sociological tradition understands social structure to be an institutional structure—namely, a set of cultural and normative models that define actors’ expectations about behavior. The structural sociology that favors the ideational contexts of action—for example, norms, beliefs, values—has clear antecedents in the currents of thought that defend some kind of cultural determinism of human behavior (Bernardi, González & Requena, 2007). A norm is a group-held belief about how members should behave in a given context. Sociologists describe norms as

informal understandings that govern society's behaviors, Norms running counter to the behaviors of the overarching society or culture may be transmitted and maintained within small subgroups of society.

It has been argued that the transplantation of foreign aid in a country without a social structure that is conducive to development can result in a cancerous type of growth...The problem is that only a few countries among the bilateral donors to Nepal have contributed aid in a manner that can lead to self sustained growth (Quoted in Bista, 1991, p. 149). It has been also argued that problematic are social conditions in which one cannot work even if he wants to and a social structure under which, however hard he may work, one cannot succeed. An ideal society will allow men to work hard and guarantee success to hard working men. A developing and healthy society should motivate men to engage in diligent labor and reward hard work accordingly (quoted in Bista, 1991 p. 150).

### **International Development**

In Sept. 2000, 147 head of state and government and 191 nations endorsed millennium declaration in UN global conference. This conference set out the key global development goals and targets. List of the goals and targets became known as the international development targets (IDT). Latterly the set goals and targets are known as "Millennium Development Goals" (MDGs). The MDGs, which incorporates the IDTs, synthesise the goals and targets for monitoring the human development. They are centered on the eight major goals. The include Eradication of poverty and hunger, Achieve universal primary education, Promote gender equality and empower women, Reduce child mortality, Improve maternal health, Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, Ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development. Numerical targets have been set for each goal, which are to be achieved by 2015. Appropriate indicators have been made to monitor each target. A common list of 18 targets and more than 40 indicators are prepared to ensure the status of MDGs at global, regional and national level (NPC, 2002).

The central target of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) is to halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people worldwide whose income is less than a dollar a day. To measure progress towards this goal it is necessary to compare poverty rates across countries (World Bank, 2012).

Let us briefly examine the regional aggregate data on poverty outcomes that form the basis for the global dialog on the poverty related MDG. The World Bank's estimates of the proportion of the population living below the dollar-a-day level are shown below in Table 2.2. Of interest is the massive reduction in the poverty rate in East Asia between 1981 and 1987, largely due to the drop in poverty in China; the rise in poverty in Europe and Central Asia (mainly in the states of the Former Soviet Union); and the upward drift of poverty rates in sub-Saharan Africa.

In international comparisons it is common to try to measure the percentage of the population living on less than one US dollar per person per day, as above, or the two dollars per day count that is more relevant for the lower middle income countries. The dollar-a-day standard refers to the purchasing power of a "dollar", actually \$1.08, in 1993 (equivalent to \$1.41 in 2004 prices). Chen and Ravallion (2001, 2004) argue that this poverty line is representative of the actual poverty line in very poor countries. The relationship between globalisation and poverty is complex, Harrison acknowledges, yet she says that a number of persuasive conclusions may be drawn from the studies in *Globalisation and Poverty*. One conclusion is that the relationship depends not just on trade or financial globalisation but on the interaction of globalisation with the rest of the economic environment: investments in human capital and infrastructure, promotion of credit and technical assistance to farmers, worthy institutions and governance, and macroeconomic stability, including flexible exchange rates. The existence of such conditions, Harrison writes, is emerging as a critical theme for multilateral institutions like the World Bank.

**Table 2.2: Percentage of Population living below “\$1 per day”**

	1981	1984	1987	1990	1993	1996	1999	2001
East Asia and Pacific	56.7	38.8	28.0	29.5	24.9	15.9	15.3	14.3
China	62.4	41.0	28.5	33.0	28.4	17.4	17.8	16.6
East Europe and Central Asia	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.5	3.7	4.4	6.3	3.4
Latin America and the Caribbean	10.3	12.5	11.6	11.9	12.2	9.4	9.7	9.5
Middle East and North Africa	5.1	3.8	3.2	2.3	1.8	2.3	2.7	2.4
South Asia	51.5	46.8	45.0	41.3	40.1	38.9	32.8	31.9
India	54.4	49.8	46.3	42.1	42.3	42.3	36.0	35.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	41.6	46.3	46.9	44.5	44.1	46.1	45.7	46.4
All LDCs	40.5	33.0	28.5	28.0	26.4	22.9	21.4	20.7
LDCs excl. China, India	22.2	21.6	21.3	19.5	18.8	17.9	17.4	16.6
Source: World Bank, 2006.								

## **2.5.Social Structure, Poverty and Development Interventions**

Mountain areas are characterised by frangibility, marginality, limited accessibility, diversity, specific position and human adaptation mechanism, which are some times called mountain specificities ( Sharma, 1996 ) ( For references : Sharma HR (1996) Mountain agriculture development process and sustainability micro level evidence from Himanchal Pradesh Indian Himalays Kathamndu, ICIMOD ). The mountain environment is characterised by most dynamic and vulnerable ecosystems in the world. Therefore, maintaining and improving the socio-economic status of the households in the agrarian mountainous areas are not an easy task. The problem of mountain households starts basically from food deficiency and dependency.

The state of poverty is a very complex, multidimensional phenomenon and difficult to describe in a single perspective. Its definitions and causes vary by gender, age, culture, and other social, economic, and political contexts. However, poverty is normally defined as the lack of what is necessary for material well-being -- especially food but also housing, land, and other assets. Besides, there is an important aspect of poverty —the lack of voice, power, and independence, which subject poor people to exploitation and marginalisation. It has been defined as being ...a state of want and disadvantage', or a state of deprivation. It is associated with ...lack of incomes and assets, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness.(Chamber 1987, Cited by Bhattarai, 2003 ) Besides, it is widely recognised that the poor are not only poor in terms of income but also in terms of exercising their voices to express their needs, rights, and representations. Income-poverty is, in part, a consequence of poverty of political and social power. Poverty is used in two different senses. In its first, broader and popular senses, it is a synonym for deprivation, and covers many aspects of hardship. In its second, narrower and technical sense, it refers to what professional's measure in assessments of poverty. Problems arise when these two meanings are confused (Chambers, 1993); Deprivation has many dimensions and definitions too. It can be seen as ascribed: people are born into groups, such as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes (influenced by cultural variables as well as cultural perspectives- my emphasis), with inescapable social disadvantage; women are born into an underprivileged gender etc. Many sets of categories are possible. Among them, these five clusters (powerlessness, vulnerability, physical weakness, poverty, and isolation) of disadvantage interlock and reinforce each other from a deprivation trap. Chamber and others also offered the prescription (Chambers et al, 1991:11, Cited by Bhattarai, 2003). It is no secret that the present reactionary state has for the last 50 years been peddling various attractive slogans along with eight year plans but after each plan or complain the problems have been further deteriorated in comparison with the countries (Bhattarai, 2003) .Programs which are directed against one aspect of deprivation may also aggravate another: the IRDP and increase vulnerability and even

powerlessness, will enable to empower the poor people to make their own decisions and choices (Bhattarai, 2003).

Poverty reduction has become a priority concern for most developing countries in the region, and development agencies, non-government organisations, and the private sector are increasingly working together in this area. Furthermore, within many countries there is a huge gap between a small elite group, a developing middle class and a poor mass of peasants and urban poor. In the wake of political independence of many Nepalese region, the former governments and other so-called advanced or developed elites have initiated activities and programs targeting the most deprived and poor segments of these societies. Although some improvements have been accomplished in the fields of health care, education as well as economic development, the material well-being of the vast majority of *Karnali* has not improved substantially over this period.

Although the economic development and poverty alleviation have been focused since the beginning of planned development in Nepal, poverty reduction started receiving priority subsequent to the political change of 1990. In this process, the Ninth Plan (1998-2003) prepared a Twenty-Year Action Plan on poverty alleviation while the Tenth Plan (2003-2008) was formulated in the form of Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) (NPC,2002). Though the ongoing Three-Year Plan that was started from FY 2010/11 has targeted to reduce current poverty level from 25.2 percent to 21 percent; preliminary data shows the poverty level at 23.8 percent. 7.2 The Nepal Living Standard Survey-III (NLSS-III) conducted in FY 2009/10 had calculated the population living below the poverty line on the basis of household expenses. Factors like rise in literacy rate, rise in the wage rate in agriculture and nonagriculture sectors, development of commercial vegetable farming, growing urbanization, growth in number of economically active human resource, and inflow of remittance have been the



major attributes in the decline of poverty level by 17 percent in a span of 14 years from FY 1996/97 (CBS,2011).

While estimating incidence of poverty by using interrelationship between the poverty and Gross National Disposable Income method in the period prior to conducting poverty survey, the poverty incidence stood at 24.4 percent in FY 2011/12 while it is estimated at 23.8 percent FY 2012/13. 7.4 Though the current three-year plan targeted at reducing poverty level to 21 percent, a number of factors like failure in timely announcement of full budget, inability to meet capital expenditure target, and obstacles being faced at every stage of implementation of national priority projects have caused the reduction in government and private sector investments thereby affecting the poverty reduction as targeted. 7.5. (GoN, 2012).

### **Poverty Alleviation Fund (PAF) Initiatives**

Between the periods from beginning of the project to mid-March 2012, programs (including innovative ideas-based programs) are 120 being implemented in 1619 VDCs of 49 districts by 22,534 Community Organizations through which 640,522 targeted households have benefited. Of the total household beneficiaries of the Fund's program, Dalits constitute 08.5 percent while Janajatis are 24.4 percent. Likewise, a greater number of women of 75.0 percent among the community organization members is the evidence for the fund to have made meaningful effort directly outreaching the poor and backward communities as targeted by the Three-Year interim plan. 7.7 As per the effectiveness assessment study conducted by CEDA under the Tribhuvan University in 2010, positive results are seen in the consumption capacity of the poor, food security situation, incomes, social development, school going trend among the school children and women empowerment. Likewise, the study revealed that the beneficiary's consumption capacity has gone up by 31 percent at actual price while the consumption capacity of those households that have received financial support from 6 to 19 months has increased by 44.4 percent. The study has also shown

that the food availability to the poor rose by 10 percent. Likewise, another social analysis study showed 82.5 percent growth in the average income of beneficiary households. Between FY 2004/05 and FY 2011/12, a total grant of Rs. 10.62 billion has been provided to Community Organizations (COs) that are running income generating programs, small infrastructure development program and new programs under PAF in 49 districts. As the flow of grant amount from PAF to Cos has been growing, it is felt necessary to conduct effectiveness reassessment study ( PAF, 2013).

## **Employment**

In Nepal about 450 thousand productive youths enter the labor market annually. An initiative has been taken to establish an Employment Information Center under the Department of Labor and develop it as an Employment Exchange Center so as to ensure easy employment access at domestic labor market to those youth entrants. Domestic Employment Promotion Programs are being rapidly implemented through vocational skill development training centers by providing vocational skills to unemployed human resource and enabling them to engage in employment activities. Despite such limited initiatives; an increasing pressure has been felt in the area of foreign employment as a result of inadequate domestic labor market and youths' attraction towards the foreign employment. Hence, formulation of National Labor

Policy has been started for having policy arrangement in order to focus the available resources towards employment creation in more effective way. 7.14 As per the National Labor Force Survey Report 2008 prepared in 2010, there are about 1.6 million children engaged as child labors. Of this, 621,000 children are forced to engage in the worst form of labor. Nepal has made commitment at national as well as international levels to end the child labor of such nature by 2016 and child labor of all types by 2020. There have been efforts towards elimination of child labor. On achievements made in the sector include, child labor related National Master Plan under the revision process; adoption of Child

Labor Prohibition Act, 2000 and Regulation 2006; rescuing children from the worst form of labor; prohibiting child from entering such labor force; providing education to 160 children of the labors through day care and informal education centers; conducting awareness programs through child labor control and rehabilitation projects;

conducting formal and non-formal education, establishing and operating child labor control fund and carrying out awareness programs through various non-governmental organizations; securing legal support, psychosocial counseling; conducting skill development trainings; and providing income generating and employment oriented trainings to the guardians of rehabilitated child labors.

### **Foreign Employment**

The Foreign Employment Policy, 2011 has been issued and is in implementation process with the primary objectives of developing competitive labor force by providing knowledge and skill as demanded by the international market and operating safe, organised and dignified foreign employment together with addressing women's foreign employment related issues. Likewise, the Three Year interim plan has set objectives of reducing country's unemployment situation thereby reducing poverty level; enhancing contribution of foreign employment in strengthening of country's economy; and managing safe and dignified foreign employment (GoN, 2012). The number of countries opened for foreign employment bound workers in an institutional way has reached 109. 7.17 The total number of workers gone for foreign employment during the period between FY 1994/95 and FY 2011/12 has reached 2,437,111. Various reports show that large numbers of Nepalese worker also have gone abroad for foreign employment without securing government permit. Based on official and unofficial records, more than 3 million Nepalese citizens seem to have gone abroad for foreign employment. The number of Nepalese workers who have gone for foreign employment has reached 276,787 by second quarter of the current

fiscal year. Of this number, 16,713 are women while 260,074 are men (GoN, 2012)

### **Targeted Programs for Poverty Alleviation and Employment Karnali Employment**

A program "One Family, One employment" is in operation in Karnali zone since FY 2006/07 with the objective of making employment opportunities available to the majority of the families of that zone, who are unable to support their livelihood with incomes they earn from their traditional professions, businesses or employments. About 73,913 unemployed household members from a total of 69,976 household are engaged with this program by mid-June, 2012. A total of 541 projects including motorable roads, school building, maintenance of micro-hydro projects, trails, mule tracks, and fruits and herbal farming were in operation through this program in FY 2011/12. Furthermore, this program has generated 796,518 jobs equivalent to employment of 10-12 man-days benefiting concerned people of Karnali zone. During the first eight months of the current fiscal year 2012/13, works are being carried out which include: updating the details of district's unemployed household members; form groups of unemployed household members and make selection of those projects that the groups have opted for; prepare cost estimates for those projects; and maintain working level coordination and integration with government and non-government agencies working in the districts.

### **Western Upland Poverty Alleviation Project**

Western Upland Poverty Alleviation Project has been in operation on joint investment of the Government of Nepal, IFAD, concerned District Development Committees (DDCs), Village Development Committees (VDCs), private sector and local users with the objective of enhancing living standards of ultra-poor residing in upland districts of Mid-Western and Far-Western Development Regions namely, Jumla, Humla, Bajhang, Bajura, Mugu, Dolpa, Kalikot,

Jajarkot, Rukum, Rolpa, and Dailekh districts of Nepal. In the fiscal year 2010/11, on infrastructure development side, 32 irrigation, 59 drinking water, 32 school buildings, 5 bridges, and health posts have been constructed benefiting 20,209 households. Additionally, 61 leasehold forest user groups have been formed covering 4,490 deprived and poor households. Likewise, 183,966 tree saplings of various species were distributed to the groups for plantation and subsequently planted in an area of 496 ha of leasehold forest. Similarly, a total of 556 community organizations were constructed during the same period. During the first eight months of the current fiscal year, ongoing construction of 2 school and community building, 10 consecutive drinking water, 8 consecutive micro-irrigation, 3 drinking water projects have been completed (GoN, 2012)

### **Addressing Nepal Food Security**

This program is in operation since FY 2008/09 under the financial and technical support of World Bank to provide support to food security through Food for Work program with the objective to provide immediate relief to poor public marred by sky-rocketing food prices. This program is in operation in 21 districts where Rural Community Infrastructure Development Program is in implementation. In FY 2010/11, beneficiary assessment was conducted, 8 computers were procured and training on monitoring and evaluation was provided. During the first eight months of the current fiscal year, process for the selection of consultants for strengthening Branchless Banking Payment system, Management Information System and hiring an Information Technology Officer for strengthening such systems in DDCs and VDCs is underway (GoN, 2012) .

### **Development Interventions in Nepal**

During the Rana regime (1846-1951), no serious attempts were made until 1930 for initiating economic development on a systematic basis. It was only in 1935 that a development agency was constituted by the name of Udyog Parishad (Development Board). The primary function of which was stated to be one of

helping in various ways the growth and expansion of agricultural, industrial and commercial activities in the country. The Development Board was soon followed by a host of specialised development agencies such as Krishi Parisdhad (Agricultural Board), KhaniAdda (Bureau of Mines, Kathmal Report Adda (Department of Forests), Nepali Kapada Ra GhareluIllumPracharAdda (Department of Cottage Industry), etc. But all that was done through these agencies in a spasmodic and haphazard manner proved to too inadequate for bringing about any perceptible change in all-pervasive state of economic backwardness inherited from past decades of negligence. There was also an announcement of what was then known to be a 20-Year Plan just before the outbreak of the Second World War. Nothing was, however, heard of what was done about it in practice until a National Planning Committee was set up in 1949 for formulating a 15-Year Plan, which as the earlier one, disappeared along with the dissolution of the National Planning Committee itself.

The economic conditions of the country persisted more or less in the same state of stagnation for a few years even after the political change in 1951, though the problems of economic planning and development had all along been a popular subject of discussion both within and outside the Government. The unstable Governments, which followed the political change in 1951, had gone out of existence one after another in close succession before they could formulate any long-term plans in their proper perspective. The economic plan in Nepal may be said to have taken some formative shape only towards the end of 1955 when the draft outline of the Five Year Plan was announced by a Royal Proclamation. It is believed that the Draft Plan was also prepared primarily for its being incorporated in the Colombo Plan, when Nepal attended its Singapore session on October 17, 1955 as a full-fledged member-country. It took about a year when at last the final draft of the Five Year Plan was announced on September 21, 1956. The Five Year Plan came to its premature end in July, 1961. The year following the termination of the Plan was treated as an interim period when many changes were made in the development projects carried over from the

Plan. After the lapse of a year, a second Plan called the Three Year Plan was put into operation from the fiscal year of 1962-1963.

The Three Year Plan was formulated by a high level National Planning Council constituted in February, 1961 under the chairmanship of King himself. A planning approach to development in Nepal began in 1956 with the formulation of the First Plan (1956-1961). Nine periodic plans have been implemented and the Tenth Plan (2002-2007) is under implementation. The first four plans emphasised the development of infrastructure, especially roads and electricity. However, achievement of the plan targets was poor. Under the Fifth and Sixth Plans, emphasis shifted towards agriculture and industry sectors. Poverty reduction has been explicitly stated as a development objective since the Sixth Plan (1980-1985). Poverty alleviation was one of the major objectives of the Eighth Plan (1992-1997), the first national plan formulated after restoration of multi-party democracy in the year 1991. The Ninth Plan (1997-2002) adopted poverty alleviation as its sole objective (NPC, 2002).

Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) of Government of Nepal is also its Tenth Plan. Government made 10th plan with single objective of poverty reduction the plan is being implemented since the beginning of fiscal year 2002/03. It began in troubled and adverse political and economical situation execution from FY 059/060 to FY 063/064(BS). Distinct features of PRSP are 1.tenth plan prepared and implemented as full-fledged poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) 2.due recognition of the role of local bodies, CO and NGOs in the development process and strong commitment towards decentralisation and functional devolution 3. use of log frame to define institutional tasks and responsibilities for the first time in Nepal's long term macro level planning history 4. Clearer definitions of priorities in terms of P1, P2 and P3 and associated allocation/disbursement commitments and elaborate M and E (Monitoring and Evaluation) provisions including a commitment of an annual poverty monitoring and hitherto never attempted process monitoring.

According to PRSP the Causes of poverty, high illiteracy, poor health and sanitation, low productivity of food grain, high child malnutrition, poor access to basic services and feudal social culture. Poverty reduction is at the highest priority for Nepal. The sole objective of the Tenth National Development Plan has been poverty reduction. The plan, also known as poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), has four major pillars; broad based sustainable economic development, social development, targeted programs and good governance (Ibid).

Overall, the achievements in the third year of the Tenth Plan/PRSP implementation was satisfactory, given the difficult development environment resulting from the violent conflict and continued political instability. Nepal's macro-level indicators remain stable, despite growing pressure on the government budget. Development spending remained low, and ironically, provided a cushion to the growing demands for recurrent expenditures, including the costs of maintaining security. The government remains fully committed to take all necessary measures to maintain macroeconomic stability. The government has broadened and deepened many of the reforms associated with the Tenth Plan/PRSP. It was necessary for protecting the gains of the past and for preventing a possible reversal. There is no doubt that Nepal has to continue with bolder reforms and development measures but that would be possible only in an environment conducive to development work. Nepal has little choice but to continue the policy and development management reforms for enhancing development effectiveness because otherwise, the inequalities that are there in Nepali society will continue to grow and fuel conflict. Continued conflict could cause greater damages on development infrastructures depriving more people – and mainly the poor and excluded – of basic services, and further delay the recovery and reconstruction. (NPC, 2005). The primary challenge of the Plan is to give continuity to poverty alleviation efforts and reduce the increasing gap between rich and poor. The government will play a direct role in the development of remote and backward communities and



regions. Government will launch targeted programs for developing least developed geographical regions and remote areas, as well as vulnerable and disadvantaged groups that are not integrated in the mainstream of development for various reasons (Ibid).

Three Year Interim Plan (2007/08-2009/10) had been prepared to fulfill the aspirations of the people expressed in the People's Movement 2006 and has also given shape to the issues agreed upon at the political level and reflected in the Interim Constitution of Nepal and the Common Minimum Program of the present Government and other agreements. This Interim Plan documents has been built on the previous achievements, and provides continuity to poverty Reduction Strategy and Millennium Development Goals, and also addresses issues related to the post-conflict management. During the formulation of this Plan various consultations have been held with political parties, business community, academia, civil societies, local level agencies, Donors as well as various organisations and professional groups of the country. This Plan puts special emphasis on peace building, relief, reconstruction, rehabilitation, reintegration, inclusion and the revitalisation of the economy. After the first plan of 2013 B.S, Nepal implemented two three-year interim plans following the introduction of Panchayat system. After the proclamation of the republic in 2008, Nepal has already implemented two three-year interim plans.

In Nepal many development projects are run by financial assistance received from Development Partner countries. The middle class 'elite' who serves as 'catalysts' between Development Partner countries and Nepal, and those who create projects have been major beneficiaries of the project outcomes. A bulk of budget money goes to office expenditure, daily travel allowances, remote area allowances and other innumerable purpose. Development projects without fancy offices, new cars, computers and foreign advisers lack dignity. The educated elites develop proposals and create positions like Advisors, Directors, Project coordinators and Administrative officers so as to increase project

efficiency. Much money is spent on these positions. All these projects are creating culture of dependency of local communities to the external assistance. The notion of enabling people for their self development has been still a matter of least concerned (Devkota, 2008 pp1).

Lack of co-ordination among the central government ministries, NPC, donors and INGOs working in the field of decentralised local governance is highly prevalent affecting the efficacy of the local development activities. Nepal adopted and operationalised a mere administrative decentralisation model for many years. An institutional set up was accordingly created to support this model on a vertical-control basis with strong top-down approach and practices. A centralised planning and budgetary practice still existed in the form of LAs which followed the blueprint approach and set objectives, targets and budget from the central government. All the development policies, plans and activities were vertically integrated and horizontally uncoordinated. Similarly at the district level, there was a lack of required co-ordination and partnership mechanisms among donors, INGOs, government LAs, LBs and the third sector.

### **Good Governance as a Policy of Development**

The good governance agenda is unrealistically long and growing longer over time. Among the multitude of governance reforms that “must be done” to encourage development and reduce poverty, there is little guidance about what's essential and what's not, what should come first and what should follow, what can be achieved in the short term and what can only be achieved over the longer term, what is feasible and what is not. If more attention is given to sorting out these questions, “good enough governance” may become a more realistic goal for many countries faced with the goal of reducing poverty. Working toward good enough governance means accepting a more nuanced understanding of the evolution of institutions and government capabilities; being explicit about trade-offs and priorities in a world in which all good things cannot be pursued at once; learning about what's working rather than focusing solely on governance gaps;

taking the role of government in poverty alleviation seriously; and grounding action in the contextual realities of each country (Grindle, 2004).

Development and Decentralisation are complex issues involving stakeholders that include the Government of Nepal and LBs, local community, NGOs, CSOs. Government of Nepal and Donors (Donors) have been emphasised that decentralisation is the most suitable means to address the development. Hence, Donors support to devolution has been directed at policy initiatives, legal reform, social mobilisation, equity promotion and capacity building, participatory planning and poverty alleviation. It is vital that the Donors' co-ordination should be promoted through an effective decentralised local governance plan. This should assist the Donors to identify areas of their strengths, weaknesses and priorities so that they could contribute to the national goals and objectives of poverty reduction. The gaps are as follows:

### **Development Policy**

Government of Nepal has formulated strategy objectives supportive towards devolution for local development. There is no clear allocation of the co-ordination accountability including Development Partner efforts and ownership of the decentralisation process where MoFALD, MoF, NPC and other line ministries follow their own agendas and objectives. Enormous amount of resources (both financial and technical) were poured in by Development Partner agencies, in fact there were cut-throat competition among Development Partner agencies to carry the country in this respect, to conceive and prepare LSGA and Regulations including printing and distribution of the same. They provided theoretical and in order support for wider devolution of authority to LBs, institutionalizing the participatory planning at local levels, establishing local and municipal development funds, supported to establish the secretariat of Decentralisation Implementation and Monitoring Committee and Local Body Fiscal Commission.

So far the Donors have been providing supports in policy development, legal reforms and institutionalizing of the participatory planning and monitoring system. We have also seen as to how dependent the Nepal government became when accepting external support from Development Partner agencies in support of decentralisation. It could not afford to even print out the Local Self Governance Act and distribute them on her own. To undertake a small piece of work of translation or publishing some reports, government looks for support from Development Partner agencies and government employees, NGO activists and even the people would not even attend a meeting or a workshop if some allowances are not provided.

In view of the above, the government could not seek Donors support for everything. The government should formulate and prioritise the short, medium and long-term plans in empowering the LBs and local people and then seek Donors support. The Donors should thus lay down criteria and provide support to ensure the meaningful participation of the socially excluded groups in the whole governance process from the grassroots to national level. Also, there are needs to support the local development in a sequential manner for implementation of the government's priority and plans.

Donors have been providing financial, technical and human resource support to government through the Local Government Finance Commission for preparing policy on fiscal decentralisation, established local and municipal development funds, supported to local government fiscal commission, support to capacity building of LBs associations and federations to make them able to negotiate with the government on LBs financing, to establish LBs financial database, support to improve financial management of LBs and support to MoFALD to prepare, analyse and publish their financial data and so on.

It was observed at the local level that the devolved resource base is inadequate to generate the resource needed to perform the devolved functions for the LBs. Still, LBs are heavily dependent to central government grants and LBs share of

national development budget is so negligible and most of the funds of the LBs are channeled through the government LAs. There are no mechanisms developed to monitor the efficient use of the grants by LBs provided by the centre. In addition, there was no clear legal provisions as to who, whether the centre or the LBs, has the right to use the natural resources available locally. The personnel both at the central and local levels as well as the former elected representatives of LBs have no knowledge and skills about the fiscal decentralisation. So far, fiscal part of LBs, which is one of the most important pre-requisite of local autonomy and sustained local development, have received very less or no attention at all from all stakeholders including Donors.

Most of the support forthcoming from Donors was insufficient and very scattered. Donors support should be co-ordinated and they should launch their support based on the framework of the fiscal decentralisation. For that there is a need to develop a clear policy and strategy on fiscal decentralisation. There should also be effective financial supervision of LBs as well as system of monitoring and evaluation of their activities.

It has been practiced so far that the personnel to the LBs are being supplied by the government. LB respondents have elaborated many instances of conflicts between the central government deputed staffers and LBs and in many cases these deputed personnel have been instrumental in compromising the autonomy of LBs as funding and programs outside LB priorities are run through them according to the ministry level decisions.

This practice has created a divide identity of the LBs and their secretaries, which were against the spirit of the autonomy of the LBs. It created a lack to accountability and loyalty of the staffs deputed to the LBs and similarly it was difficult to implement the policies, plans and programs for the effective political management when key personnel were hired from somewhere else without due consultation with and knowledge of LBs. Also, these positions had left vacant because of the frequent transfer of them when there were changes in

the central government in Kathmandu. So, it was strongly felt that there is a need for a separate LBs' public service Act so that LBs can recruit their own personnel as per the local needs. Development Partner agencies such as UNDP, DANIDA and SNV have been providing some financial support towards this direction but nothing substantial has had happened so far.

Donors have been providing support towards this at the local level only and no such support was forthcoming at the central level policy formulation. As all would agree that it was of a paramount importance for the continued decentralisation reforms, the Donors needed to engage themselves effectively and actively with the central government for a full devolution of authority to LBs to manage the local government service in full.

In order to promote fiscal transparency and accountability in the functioning of LBs, many Donors have been supporting LBs by providing training and relevant information. LOCAL SELF GOVERNANCE ACT has also made provisions to enhance transparency (transparent decision-making process and follow-ups, budget approval procedures, recruitment of personnel, submission of audit reports, declaration of property and assets after the elections and after the end of the office tenure) and accountability when discharging official duties and responsibilities for the LBs. But so far there were no indicators developed to measure the level of transparency and accountability of functioning of LBs when discharging their duties and responsibilities. Also there were no legal provisions in place to be followed up when misappropriation of funds take place.

However, there were no any mechanisms to measure the level of transparency and accountability of the LBs and no legal provision and follow-ups if financial irregularities take place. Some Donors such as UNDP, DANIDA, DFID, GTZ, SDC, Care and SNV are supporting LBs to maintain transparent and accountable functioning through training, planning, communication and

information dissemination but these were insufficient and limited to the local level only.

There was a legal provision for transparent and accountable functioning of LBs but the system itself was not fully developed and functional. There is a dire need to sensitise the local community, CSOs, NGOs and media groups to promote the transparency and accountability of LBs. For these to materialize, Donors in consultation and co-ordination with both the centre and local level stakeholders must work together

Local development programs are run for institution building and the construction of physical infrastructure. These aim at social and economic development. Local resources and capacity are mobilised in fulfilling basic needs of the people. Periodic District Development Plans have been formulated in 52 districts, and District Transport Master Plans have been formulated in 74 districts. Targeted projects on poverty Alleviation for the extreme poor have helped to alleviate rural poverty in mid and far western districts.

Government of Nepal constituted and administrated a Act, Local Self-Governance Act – 2055. Local self-governance system is taken as a basis of decentralisation. LOCAL SELF GOVERNANCE ACT made autonomous District Development committee, Village Development Committee and Municipality as sub-national level institutions."Development," though understood differently by different groups of people, has today taken the center stage in the minds and lives of the Nepalese people. There have been extensive debates, both academic and non-academic, on various facets of development and/or underdevelopment of the country at different levels, but seriously focused debate on developmental practices in Nepal has been lacking. Development could either be state-led, market-led, NGO-led, or people/community based. There is an urgent need to understand and analyse in depth these strategies and to prioritise them (Mishra, 2000).

Programs are being implemented based on priority in line with Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). Public Procurement Act has been enforced to simplify and bring competence the process of public procurement. There is a provision whereby DDC itself is authorised to transfer funds and revise programs at the district level along with the devolution of authority and inputs in local bodies. During the time of conflict also, in order to conduct development activities at the local level, community organisations, users' committees, and NGOs have been mobilised. There has been delay in the implementation of projects and programs. Accountability of the staff is more process-oriented rather than results-oriented. There is a lack of linkage between work performance and staff performance.

In addition to the devolution of power and resources to the local bodies, there is a provision for the transfer of funds to District Development Committee. Even at the time of conflicts, community organisations, user groups and NGOs helped to carry out development programs at the local level. There is no doubt that the conflicts have disrupted the implementation of development programs. In addition, the present orientation of the country towards peace and good governance has slowed down implementation for the time being. This is but natural in the immediate post conflict phase. With regard to monitoring and evaluation, the past system of limiting reviews to fiscal and physical progress at the project and program level has been improved. Efforts had been made to institutionalize Poverty Monitoring and Analysis System (PMAS) after preparation at the central level. Moreover, the defined indicators of PRSP annual progress have been publicised. In the same way, initiation has been made to institutionalize District poverty Monitoring and Analysis System (DPMAS). The system of citizen report card has been outlined and tested based on the participatory poverty monitoring system. In order to make improvements on the drawbacks in family surveys, surveys have been made systematic. NLSS and population and family health surveys have been accomplished. In the same



way, performance based budget release system has been adopted in order to link budget release with performance.

### **Co-ordination and Communication and Local Governance**

The support of Donors programs attempted to build and consolidate the experiences and knowledge gained in recent years by the Nepal government in the field of strengthening decentralised local governance. Donors supporting decentralisation and governance have established a loose network of Development Partner co-ordination where information was shared and co-ordinated through review and sharing meetings, reports and publications. They have also mentioned that they co-ordinate bilaterally with the respective government agencies as per their memorandum of understandings. Despite of many years Donors support in the country for promoting decentralised local governance, however, meaningful participation of the poor and excluded groups in these processes was still lacking.

However, a direct dissemination of the results of INGOs and Donors' initiatives on decentralisation and governance to the concerned LBs by them has been extremely rare. Active participation and involvement of concerned LBs, people concerned and LB associations in the process of information sharing, dissemination and publication should improve the information sharing and dissemination and also enhance the roles and responsible of LBs and their associations and federations.

It was discouraging to note that the government lacks clear guidelines on Donors' co-ordination based on national policy, strategy and time bound implementation plan on decentralised local governance. The government has been unable to co-ordinate, monitor and embrace these program activities bringing all the stakeholders together to achieve the common goal of decentralised reform. As a result, it has led to a thin spread of Donors support and resources in several areas on one hand while government has become

unable to specify support focus areas and also facilitate Donors with the ideas and programs for optimum results of their investments on the other. Because of this, there were many instances of duplication, overlapping and 'doing same thing by different actors and reaching nowhere situation' for decentralised governance programs being supported by Donors.

Moreover, the government even did not have any records as to indicate how many Donors have been working in this sector. Since there was no specific central government institution to look after the decentralisation and governance sector, there was clear mis-match between Donors' objectives and programs with government's policies and strategies on decentralised local governance. Because of these confusions, all government institutions tended to accept Donors' support, which complicated the situation further resulting for extremely weak Development Partner co-ordination for decentralised local governance. The MoFALD has also failed to act as a focal ministry to co-ordinate the Donors support and initiatives.

The overall conclusion has been that the appropriate co-ordination and communication among Donors, INGOs and government was very much lacking. The major problem for effective Development Partner co-ordination and communication was in the absence of a clear and sequenced decentralisation plans and its implementing strategies from the government.

Many years' Donors' involvement showed that there was a lack of strategic framework for Development Partner support that has resulted in significant waste of resources and no concrete achievements are thus seen. It was also due to the lack of effective communication and co-ordination channels on both sides, extremely weak performance of the central government due to its centralised structures and bureaucratic system as well as undue pressures and conditionality's imposed by the Donors. Because of all these, it has become easier to point out fingers to each other or engage in blame game when the

government has no overall national framework to guide and converge all the Donors support for decentralised local governance.

Until recently, any Donors support for decentralisation and local governance in Nepal was highly problematic because of the pervasive conflict and unfavorable political climate. Although, the future of LBs is uncertain it is questionable that the LBs will play a vital role in the immediate recovery efforts and in the long-term provision of basic services to the grassroots peoples. The main challenges that the government has to face will be ensuring transparency, accountability and participation in service delivery and at the same time to create the foundations for good local governance. Increased Donors harmonisation and alignment with government priorities will be another challenge that the decentralised local governance will seek to address.

- i) At the local level, there was no trust among government LAs, LBs, NGOs, CBOs and CSOs to work together in implementing different local development activities.
- ii) There were lack of clarity in rights, duties and responsibilities of LBs, government LAs and central government.
- iii) There were no co-ordination and co-operation among NGOs, CSOs, LBs, government LAs and central government for undertaking the tasks of local development. There was also duplication of duties and responsibilities, tendency of changing the local priorities including programs and the budget from the centre, weak institutional structures, capacity and inadequate resource base of LBs. Even the Development Partner communities who have been supporting the country for many years have expressed dissatisfaction over the weak commitment of the government to the decentralised local governance.
- iv) There was a lack of accountability system at both horizontal and vertical level, and;

- v) Monitoring, evaluation and co-ordination mechanisms at all levels remained extremely weak.

Furthermore, the powers and authorities given by LOCAL SELF GOVERNANCE ACT to the LBs were also in conflict with over 52 other sectoral Laws and Acts promulgated earlier by the government. One case in example was that the forest act (1992) challenged DDC's taxation in forest products and resources. There were many such examples brought to public by LB associations and federations. Out of these, 23 sectoral Acts listed below should be amended as soon as possible if government is serious to decentralize the powers and authority to the LBs, which are as follows:

**Table 2.3 : List of Other Sectoral Acts in Conflict with Local Self Governance Act**

<b>S No</b>	<b>Sectoral Acts</b>	<b>Related Articles</b>
1	Animal Health and Services Act, 2055 (1998)	4,16,17 and 19
2	Animal Slaughter house and Meat quality Examination Act, 2055 (1998)	5 and 18
3	Birth, Death and other Personal Events Registration Act, 2026 (1969)	2, 3 and 5
4	Consumers Protection Act, 2054 (1997)	15
5	Construction Enterprise Act, 2055 (1998)	4 and 5
6	Cinema (Production, Show and Distribution) Act, 2026 (1969)	4
7	Education Act, 2028 (1971)	3, 11 and 12
8	Electricity Act, 2049 (1992)	3 and 12
9	Environment Conservation Act, 2053 (1996)	7
10	Forest Act, 2049 (1992)	2, 17, 23 and 48
11	Judicial Administration Act, 2048 (1991)	7
12	Local Administration Act, 2028 (1971)	5, 9 and 10 Ka

<b>S No</b>	<b>Sectoral Acts</b>	<b>Related Articles</b>
13	Local Governments (election procedures) Act, 2048 (1991)	16
14	Land Revenue Act, 2034 (1977)	32
15	Mines and Minerals Act, 2042 (1985)	5
16	Natural Calamity Act, 2039 (1982)	7
17	Public Roads Act, 2031 (1974)	21
18	Statistics Act, 2015 (1958)	7
19	Soil and Watershed Conservation Act, 2039 (1982)	4 and 6
20	Sports Development Act, 2048 (1991)	12
21	Vehicles and Transport Management Act, 2049 (1992)	78 and 121
22	Water Resource Act, 2049 (1992)	4
23	Solid Waste Management and Resource Mobilisation Act, 2044 (1987)	To be annulled fully.

Source: Review of Decentralisation in Nepal (2000), poverty Reduction and Decentralisation: A Linkage Assessment Report (2002) and Sectoral Devolution Strategy (2005)

### **Poverty in National level**

The three-year ( 2009-12) Plan aimed at creating opportunities for reputable and beneficial employments, reducing economic inequality, attaining regional balance and improving living standard of entire Nepalese people by eliminating social discrimination and bringing poverty line below 21 percent through sustainable economic growth in order to achieve Millennium Development Goal (MDG) by 2013. Likewise, 6 different strategies as follows have been adopted so as to achieve the objective of generating feelings of actual change among the people by bringing down the current situation of unemployment,

poverty and inequality, and support for stabilisation of sustainable peace in the country: 1) attain employment and poverty reduction oriented sustainable and broad based economic growth on collective efforts of government, private, community and cooperative sectors; 2) support the foreseen federal structure of the country and develop physical infrastructures that support the inclusive and judiciously equitable economic growth; 3) give emphasis to social justice and inclusive development to attain sustainable peace; 4) provide support to the country's socioeconomic transformation through the enhancement of economic and social services; 5) make effort for result oriented development by ensuring good governance and making service delivery more effective; and 6) improve economic growth and stability by mainstreaming private, community and cooperative sector development and industrialisation, trade and service sectors with the country's development initiatives.

According to Nepal Living Standard Survey (NLSS), 2003/04, people with average annual income of Rs. 7,696 are defined as people below the poverty line, and with this assumption, 30.85 percent of the total population was below the poverty line in the fiscal year 2003/04 while with the same assumption, this figure came down to 25.39 percent in the fiscal year 2008/09 from 41.76 percent in 1995/96. Based on the same survey, in terms of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) calculated on the basis of an income of One US dollar a day, which is the internationally adopted measurement standard of adopted by the World Bank, around 24.1 percent population is still living below the poverty line. The World Bank, in 2005 has redefined US\$1.25 a day as the poverty line. Nepal's poverty situation seemed much weaker when compared on the basis of this assumption. Nepal is still following the earlier parameter.

The gap between urban and rural as well as various geographical regions and groups is still stunningly wide in Nepal. According to the Nepal Living Standard Survey (NLSS, 2003/04), on the whole poverty is reduced by 10.91 percentage points between 1995/96 and 2003/04. Major reasons for this are the

income from remittance, rapidly growing urbanisation, and increase in average wage in the agriculture sector, and growth in the number of economically active population. The increased income gap in this period, however, has widened between the rich and the poor. According to Gini coefficient, the indicator for income inequality, which was 0.34 in 1992/93 reached 0.41 in 2003/04 suggesting that the growth rate of income level of the rich has been higher than that of the poor. On the basis of this survey the rate has been reached by 0.46 of an estimation of 2008/09. It has necessitated to take the poor oriented policy-wide, structural and program-level measures accompanied by the creation of short as well as long term income oriented employment opportunities and effective implementation of economic transfer programs.

According to estimates made in 2003/04 based on NLSS 1995/96 conducted for measuring poverty incidence, poverty rate has declined. Major reasons for this decline are: remittance income, and increase in average wage in the agriculture sector. The estimated urban population living below the poverty line in FY 2003/4 was 9.55 which the same period, the population below poverty line in rural areas dropped to 28.54 percent from 34.62 percent. Besides, poverty gap in Nepal that estimated at 7.60 percent in 2003/04 fell to 6.10 percent in 2008/09 while squared poverty gap dropped from 2.70 percent to 2.12 percent in the same period. The poverty rate that was 30.85 percent in the fiscal year 2003/04 is estimated to have come down to 25.39 percent in the fiscal year 2008/09.

## **Poverty Alleviation Approaches**

### **State Centered Poverty Alleviation Approaches**

- Agricultural Perspective Plan
- Support Programme for Poverty Alleviation,
- Poverty Alleviation Fund (PAF),
- Bisheshwor Poverty Alleviation Program,

- Integrated Rural Development Programme, Coordination, Supporting, Monitoring etc.

#### NGO/INGO centered poverty alleviation approaches

- Skill development trainings,
- Establishment of saving and credit groups,
- Technical and financial support to local villages and
- Community development groups, capacity building programmes etc.

#### Community Centered Poverty alleviation approaches

- Community groups are formed, they identify their problems and seek viable solutions themselves such as micro credits etc.
- State and non-governmental sector also provide support to strengthen such activities.

#### Market Centered Poverty alleviation approaches

- Financial or corporate institutions invest in several sectors and provide employment opportunities.
- Credit facilities for farmers or small industry operators.
- Major Interventions on poverty alleviations

In Nepal, the process of planned economic development began in 1956. Until the fourth five-year plan period (1970-1975) the major strategy was to build economic and social infrastructures; some concrete achievements were made in that direction. The fifth five year plan (1975-1980) adopted a new approach to setting objectives, such as increasing the production of mass oriented goods, ensuring the maximum utilisation of the workforce, and the promotion of regional balance and integration. Although a major portion of public sector expenditure was spent on transport, communications, electricity and industrial development, the country continued to rely on agricultural production.



The sixth and seventh five-year plans, (1980-1985 and 1985-1990) incorporated the objective of fulfilling minimum basic needs as well as placing emphasis on raising production through a higher growth rate and by increasing productive employment. Although those two Plans were more successful in achieving the set targets, stagnant exports and high increases in imports led to trade deficits and a negative balance of payments. Although there were some achievements in areas such as transportation, communications, health, drinking water supply and literacy, the economic achievements were vague and disappointing on the whole. Owing to the low growth rate in gross domestic product (GDP) the per capita income only recorded a marginal increase during the period. The average annual growth in GDP was 3.4 per cent whereas the growth in per capita income was a mere 0.8 per cent. Food grain production, which was around 3 million tons in 1961/62, reached 5.7 million tons in 1989/90 (an average annual growth rate of only 2.1 per cent) mainly through expansion in area. Only 21 percent of the total land under cultivation is irrigated. Taking into account the experiences of several developing countries which indicated that a high economic growth rate would not automatically benefit the population, the eighth five-year plan (1992-1997) envisaged a new dimension in development approach. That plan took as its broad objective social and economic enhancement through tackling the challenges of economic stagnation, poverty alleviation, reducing structural anomaly, and controlling environmental degradation and rapid population growth.

The major objectives of the eighth five-year plan were sustainable economic growth, poverty alleviation and the reduction of regional imbalance. Amidst economic stagnation, environmental degradation and rapid population growth, the eighth five-year plan set a target of providing job opportunities to 1.4 million people, thereby reducing absolute poverty from 49 to 42 per cent of the total population. The government programme on poverty alleviation did not distinguish between urban and rural poverty. The major part of the programme has been directed towards the alleviation of massive poverty at the rural level. The plan further envisaged the implementation of various target group-oriented

sectoral and specific programmes such as production and employment generating activities, development of physical infrastructure, resettlements of the poor, and the provision of health services, education opportunities and safe drinking water facilities. Other activities included a small farmer development programme, production credit for rural women, leased forestry, labour-intensive public construction works and irrigation programmes. Various institutional efforts were also envisaged in that direction. The plan placed emphasis on mobilizing the private sector as well as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in implementing poverty alleviation programmes. Decentralised local-level planning was also initiated with a view to empowering local government units at the district and village levels.

Poverty alleviation has been the main focus of development in Nepal since 1956 when the country began planned development. While the Ninth Plan (1997–2002) developed a 20-year framework for reducing poverty, the Tenth Plan (2002–2007), formulated as a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, was focused on reducing poverty. These efforts contributed to bringing the poverty level down to 25.4 percent by 2009. The Approach Paper for the TYP has the objective of reducing inequality and poverty through dignified and profitable employment opportunities by expanding inclusive, productive and targeted programs. The number of Nepalis living below the national poverty line decreased from 42 percent in 1996 to 30.8 percent in 2003 (Figure 5) and to 25.4 percent in 2009 (CBS, 2009). Despite the achievement, there still are structural problems such as economic disparities and inequitable access to productive resources and means, distributional conflicts, and shortfalls in good governance. Similarly, there is a huge disparity in the rural and urban poverty levels. Even though, the decline in rural poverty is not discouraging (urban poverty dropped by eight percentage points between 1995 and 2004, rural poverty dropped by 12 percentage points), income poverty across different communities remains unequal (UNDP 2009). Poverty reduction has also been highly unequal between different social groups. Poverty was lower among Newars and Brahman/Chhetri (14 percent and 18

percent) compared to Muslims and Dalits (41 percent and 46 percent) while the national average was 31 percent (NPC, 2012). Land ownership reduces the probability of being poor in rural areas, a pattern that has remained unchanged over the years. Poverty incidence among households owning 0.2 hectares or less land (a quarter of all rural households) is almost 40 percent and is roughly similar to that of households who own 0.2 to 1 ha (half of all rural households).

## **2.6.Dolpa : Putting Together Social Structure , Poverty and Development Interventions Example from Nepal**

According to the folklores among Bramhin titled Neupane and Devkota and Chhetri titled Hamal, kadhayart, two stories were found common. Tripurakot VDC is composed of old and new settlements by native inhabitants and immigrants. During the Rana regime, the VDC area was given as *Zamindari* to three different ethnic families of inhabitants. Kot village was allotted to Bramhin and Chhetri family, and the Rasi and Karelikada villages were bestowed to a Bhote family. All these *Pujari* (Priest) of *Balatripurasundari* Temple had settled them in the nearby Tripurakot. Thus came into existence the settlement of *Tripurakot Gaon* which falls in Ward No. 1 and 2 of the VDC.

It was around early seventies that the Rasi and Karelikada top of the villages which falls in ward no.7, 8 and 9 area was allotted to the Janajatis kham Magar and other Bhote. The most prominent areas with new settlements within Tripurakot VDC have been described above. Ethnic is not a new phenomenon even if there has been considerable variation in the terms used to describe societies which include within their boundaries diverse ethnic groups. In study area there are four ethnic groups, in household survey the responded are not greed impowing the marginalised ethnic through development process for impowing Janajati and Dalits. Especially Dalits who have not as untouchable they are less

impoverished and active in politics. They are not allowed to visit Temples even a famous *Balatripurasunsari*.

The transplantation of foreign aid in a country without a social structure that is conducive to development can result in a cancerous type of growth...The problem is that only a few countries among the bilateral donors to Nepal have contributed aid in a manner that can lead to self sustained growth (Quoted in Bista, 1991, p. 149). Problematic are social conditions in which one cannot work even if he wants to and a social structure under which, however hard he may work, one cannot succeed. An ideal society will allow men to work hard and guarantee success to hard working men. A developing and healthy society should motivate men to engage in diligent labor and reward hard work accordingly (quoted in Bista, 1991 p. 150).

The anti-poverty approaches used to far were not capable enough to deal with the problem due to the inherent characteristics of sectoral and minimalist vision and techno- bureaucratic limitations. Realising this, various scholars and agencies have started searching for different approaches and methodologies to address the issues holistically. One of the key factors that led to the emergence of sociology was research into poverty. Chamber and others sociologists have advocated for anti-poverty interventions in tackling the overall issue of poverty dynamics and social context in the rural setting. Historically speaking the people of Nepal have been suffering from lack of healthy food and hygienic environment and they have depended more on agriculture and livestock products for their livelihood. The root of the problem has been autocratic system, feudalistic economic system, cultural value, cultural factors and system and has strengthened, covertly the fatalistic attitude among the people.

The Karnali zone – of which Dolpa is one of five districts – was in fact one of the first areas where SNV Nepal began its operations. Over a span of 25 years, SNV's role has changed from an implementing organisation to a capacity strengthening partner. Previous SNV initiatives include the Karnali Local

Development Programme whereby trails and bridges were constructed, and the District Partners Programme which focused on strengthening the capacity of local NGOs and community based organisations. Alternative programs such as the MarjanRensGompa Renovation Project successfully conserved seven gompas (monasteries), whilst the Tourism for Rural Poverty Alleviation Programme assisted in the formulation of a tourism development plan for district (DDC, Dolpa 2009).

## **2.7. Conclusion**

Poverty is inter-related to other problems of underdevelopment. In rural and urban communities, poverty can be very different. In urban areas people often have access to health and education but many of the problems caused by poverty are made worse by things like overcrowding, unhygienic conditions, pollution, unsafe houses etc. In rural areas there is often poor access to education, health and many other services. The overall literature review suggests following three reasons. First, Social Structural factors determine the impact of developments in the rural and the urban settings. Secondly, the state policy regarding the development planning and poverty alleviation all along appeared confused on priority sectors. Finally, the approaches and development interventions have not been holistically designed to suit the rural characteristics and marginalised process has not been stopped. As a result of development interventions, Government of Nepal has failed to enhance the overall poverty reduction.

While the interaction of social structure, poverty and development interventions have been explored extensively in the existing literature (Merton 1968, Chambers et al, 1991, Giddens 1984) not a single research the knowledge of this author, has explored this interaction in the contest of Nepal's rural poverty. This research is an attempt to bridge this knowledge gap in the existing literature.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1.Introduction**

This Chapter describes the research methodology undertaken for this study. Field work exercise involves not merely the task of noting down the responses, but also a careful plan and implementation of a series of strategies to obtain desired set of information. The Chapter intends to highlights the selection of research site, pre-field work procedure and Village Entry. It also discusses rapport building with the population, Research Design, sampling procedures, Method of Data Collection and Methods of Data Analysis and Interpretation.

### **3.2. Background**

This study has used both quantitative and qualitative techniques of data collection using both primary and secondary sources of information to meet the study objectives. Has been argued that in order to better understand and assess complex issues, such as social structure, poverty and development interventions a robust field work strategies and methods are essential. It The primary data were collected through the survey questionnaires from VDC and district level respondents in order to assess and analyse peoples' participation to VDC, local institutions, political parties including financial and other capacity of VDCs and DDCs, their perceptions and understanding about decentralisation and local governance. In addition to survey, Focus Group Discussions, Key Informants Interviews and Case Studies were conducted to supplement the information collected from the survey questionnaires. The field work took place during April, 2008 through March 2009. In order to accurately portray the information and facts gathered and observed during the course of the study, it has used both descriptive as well as analytical approach.

The secondary data were collected from various published and unpublished documents were found very useful and relevant to the study and so were

collected from various sources. Among others, District Development Committee (DDC), District Agriculture Development Office (DADO), Women Development Office (WDO), Village Development Committee (VDC), District Education Office (DEO), Water and Sanitation Sub-division Office (WSSO), District Health Office (DHO) and Karnali Integrated Development and Research Centre (KIDARC) were very useful while collecting and analyzing the field information.

### **3.3. Research Site**

Dolpa district was selected for the purpose of this research, mainly due to the following reasons: It is located in the Western and Northern part of the country with respect to the longitudinal distance from the eastern boarder of Mechi to the western boarder of Mahakali. The district represents the characteristics of ecology and ethnicity of Himalayan/proper. On the basis of overall HDI ranking, Kathmandu is the best (1st in ranking) and Mugu is the worst (75th in ranking) district in the whole of Nepal. But, Dolpa district is among the worst. With its 73rd position in HDI, It can be considered below the average in the overall ranking (UNDP, 2004). By and large, it can be considered to have a less average level in many other aspects among the districts of the Himalayan/region. Dolpa district, however, is very unique among the districts located in the same ecological zone. The dynamics of people's movement in the recent history had made no significant difference in the composition of various ethnic groups in any district of the same ecological area.

### **3.4. Official Formality and Village Entry**

While going for the first time to the study site, the researcher took a bus early morning at 6 o'clock from Birganj Bus-stop and it took thirteen hours to reach Nepalganj. The following day the researcher took ticket of Yeti Airlines, the air way to go to Jufal. After walking 3 hours of journey he reached Dunai, the

district headquarters of Dolpa. After making the arrangement of a hotel, he went to the Chief District Administrator's Office (CDO) and met the officers concerned, handed over the copy of official introduction letter from the Dean's Office, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, and explained them the purpose of the research. Then he met the Local Development Officer. At that time, people's representatives were not holding office in DDCs, and the government had authorised the civil servants to act for them too. Both of these offices extended their moral support for the research study. And they also narrated the overall situation of the district to the researcher.

The updated list of households could not be from DDC offices. It was learnt that in the beginning of 2006, it had the list in an unfinished form. All the names of the household heads and the number of male and female members in the family had to be copied thoroughly.

### **3.5. Rapport Building with the people**

A studious investigator has to seek information from the respondents in a pleasant-sounding behavior. S/he should always maintain neutrality toward all of them and should not be inclined in any direction of controversies related to ethnicity, religion and political affiliation. Nor s/he should get involved in a conflict between factions or communities. Likewise, s/he should not make any promise to be a 'good doer' for them. Indeed, it is a problem for a social science researcher. It is an act of getting something in lieu of nothing. The toughest part of the job came when the social science researcher had to extract qualitative information. S/he had to face this challenge again and again while interviewing the respondents in order to collect information without violating the norms of neutrality. To make smooth his task, the researcher visited some organisations such as Tripurakot Cultural and Community Development Committee, Sarbangin and Paralegal Committee.



He explained the purpose of his visit and objectives of the research to the officials there. The visits proved very helpful as he was then able to establish good relationships with some of the disadvantaged and poor people as well as some of the influential ones living in the study area. As the researcher was able to get along well with the people of different classes, communities, castes, ethnicity, and gender as well as the leaders and cadres of various political parties, it provided him an opportunity to acquire wider perspective which helped him to cross check the acquired information. However friendly relationship with the people might have been developed with the researcher in the field, there is always some degree of indifference and separation even when the researcher had to consciously position himself as a neutral person. Similarly, community members are also mindful of the temporary nature of the stay of the researcher who is after all an outsider in their community and so one must not disclose such information to an outsider which may defame an individual or all the members of the community. It was obvious that they tried to hide what they considered sensitive information from the researcher. Also, it was difficult for a male researcher to obtain women-sensitive information

### **3.6. Research Design**

The study was descriptive cum explorative in nature. It had following characteristics (i) the variables / factors and procedures are described as accurately and completely as soon as possible so that they may be replicated by other researchers (ii) it is non experimental for its deals with the relationship between non-manipulated variables in the natural setting and since the events or conditions had already occurred or existed, the researcher select the relevant variables/factors for an analysis of the their relationships (iii) it employs methods of randomisation in selecting the study sample; (iv) it used logical methods of inductive-deductive reasoning to arrive at generalisations.

### **3.7.Nature and Sources of Data**

The data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The researcher collects the primary data from the field by interviewing villagers. The primary data was collected using semi-structured interview guide, case study, and observation method. The secondary data was collected from relevant literature, library study and research reports. The household' is an important arena of public policy research. This is often the case; for example, in urban household surveys where 'the household' is used to assess how the aggregate public accumulates, spends, or uses and experiences housing, infrastructure and services ( Beall, J., and Kanji, N., 1999). It is frequently viewed as a single entity and treated as a unit of analysis.

### **3.8. Method of Primary Data Collection**

Ethnographic Method was applied to study the problem. Ethnographic method in this study generates qualitative data on poverty, impacts of development intervention and creating awareness and it may also generate data given emphasis on socio-demographic characteristics. Using the method of field observation (a foundation of sociological research) the researcher also observe, listen, and converse with informants in as free and natural an atmosphere as possible. The strength of this kind of method lies in observation / first hand discussions with the sampled population to know their social dynamics. The researcher also participates in different types meeting i.e. formal and informal, seasonal, periodic and annual events. Researcher assumption is that social behavior is influenced by the setting in which it occurs. The researcher understand the setting and the nature of social structures, tradition, values, norms and social behavior, It is important for the researcher to observe and interpret the collected facts using etic approach but emic perspective also be taken into consideration, as stated above, While discussing with the sample

households, formal, informal, groups and other key informants, a checklist was developed and used. The secondary sources of information and available archives, also be collected, used, and analysed.

The following four tools were applied to collect the primary data in this ethnographic study.

**Table 3.1: Data Collection Tools and Purposes**

Tools/techniques	Number	Purposes
HHs survey	144	To collect quantitative information on income, expenditure, income from yarshagumba, livestock, landholding, food sufficiency, literacy, social awareness, development issues and social relationship.
Focused group discussion	12	To derive qualitative information based upon the perceptions of the participants on the roles of government and nongovernment actors in development interventions and their impact upon rural poverty and overall social structure.
Observation		To watch and listen the verbal and non verbal aspects of the events and to grasp their meaning of those acts through momentary contact with the people.

### **3.9. Household Survey**

The primary objectives of this study were to review the development process that were implemented in the country and assess the views and perceptions of

the grassroots peoples on poverty and development activities towards reducing poverty. For this, a VDC level household survey questionnaire was designed and pre-tested (see the survey questionnaire in Annex: B) to collect the micro-level information. For this purpose, a total of 144 household were selected by using proportionate stratified random sampling process from two study VDCs of the district to meet the study objectives.

A household survey questionnaire was administered to the head of the household or one of the knowledgeable persons of the household. A household was defined, for this study, as a housing unit where its members shared a common kitchen. The household questionnaire has attempted to solicit the information about their general information, socio-economic conditions, participation in development activities and their understanding towards poverty, and equitable service delivery. It also asked about the access of the employment, agricultural, education and health services at the local level.

### **3.10. Universe and Sampling**

The universe of this study was Tripurakot VDC of Dolpa district. The unit of analysis was households. A stratified random sampling method was applied to select households and respondents. The stratification was done on the basis of ethnicity. According to the 2001 census, the ethnic distribution of the VDCs households is as follows:

**Table 3.2 : Ward wise Ethnic Distribution of Households in the VDC and Sample Area**

Ward No.	Total		Brahmin		Chhetri	Sample	Janjati	Sample	Dalit	Sample
	HH	Sample	HH	Sample	HH	Sample	HH	Sample	HH	Sample
1	55	16	1	0	10	3	2	1	42	12
2	62	17	26	7	36	10	0	0	0	0
3	70	20	0	0	43	12	10	3	17	5
4	66	19	0	0	66	19	0	0	0	0
5	51	14	0	0	51	14	0	0	0	0
6	60	18	2	1	37	11	0	0	21	6
7	59	16	0	0	2	0	57	16	0	0
8	43	12	0	0	0	0	43	12	0	0
9	43	12	2	1	0	0	41	11	0	0
Total	509	144	31	9	245	69	153	43	80	23
Proportion			0.0609		0.4794		0.3006		0.1572	
Sample	144		9		69		43		23	

Source: Author's field work.

Total Population of the VDC: 2629, Male: 1360, Female: 1629, Total Cluster (Tole): 12, Total Population of the District: 29545, Male: 14735, Female: 14810

In order to incorporate the ideas and situation of the inhabitants from all the castes and groups, a proportionate number of households were selected for the study, as shown in table 3.2. As proposed 144 respondents were interviewed in all nine wards. The sample consisted of 9 households of Brahmins 69 of Chhetri, 43 of Janajatis, 23 of Dalits categories. To administer the interview, percent 144 households) from among the total households (509) of the VDC were selected by using the simple proportionate sampling method and by and large, the researcher followed the same trend of caste/ethnic composition of the VDC. And a total of 144 respondents of different caste/ethnicity were selected from the wards. Taking into consideration the caste/ethnicity, the households were interviewed in order to acquire quantitative information.

### **3.11. Observation**

Observation was one of the basic techniques of qualitative research as per the nature of the study. This technique was applied to collect information regarding their consumption pattern, sanitation, and food habits, social, cultural, and financial aspects of the people in the target area. In order to gather necessary data, a checklist was developed. By using the technique of observation for information collection, the researcher was able to learn about and collect information on the general situation of the village, state of progress made by the development interventions and their impact upon the people, and the role of development agencies at the community level.

### **3.12. Focused Group Discussion**

Focus group discussion (FGD) was one of the principal data gathering techniques from the diverse socio-cultural groups. Altogether, seven FGDs were organised among the same respondents of the same VDC in order to collect different views and experience regarding social structure, poverty and development intervention. Thus, different levels of groups representing different strata of population had been identified for discussions. A set of checklist (please refer to **Annex:C**) for these discussions was designed. These were intentionally undertaken because if one discusses the participation in development and other issues in a combined group, the participants from the socially and politically excluded groups. By organizing FGDs this way, women were also pursued to express their views and concerns. FGDs helped to clarify several issues which were not clear in the questionnaire filled out by the local level respondents. These have also been useful in bringing voices and concerns of different socio-cultural groups regarding empowerment and inclusion of them in mainstream development initiatives.

With the help of guiding questions prepared beforehand for steering the focus group discussions, the researcher conducted as many as seven group

discussions with the people of various caste and ethnic group, gender, and age in different clusters of the research site as shown in Table 3.3. The number of participants in a focus discussion (FGD) ranged from 7 to group 13. The topics of the discussions were: i) Perceptions on the impacts of the development interventions upon Dalit community particularly at their household level; ii) Specific development programs for Dalit women by the interveners; iii) Holistic change in the social values of Dalits now and 15 years ago; v) Social support system for Damai, Kulala, Kami, Sunar and Sharki communities in the past; and vi) Perception of the poor and marginalised people on the issues of poverty .

**Table 3.3 : Description of FGD Participants**

Caste/Ethnicity	Total	Male	Female
<i>Brahmin</i>	22	17	5
<i>Chhetri</i>	76	53	23
<i>Janjati</i>	25	19	6
<i>Dalit</i>	19	12	7
Total	142	101	41

Source: Author's field work.

### **3.13. Secondary Data Collection**

It is a key for a social science investigator to set up a relationship between what went before and the present. In this regard, various researchers and government agencies had documented massive information which would be hugely helpful to understand the people at their household level from macro to micro level perspectives - their social structure over time as an outcome of the historical process. The government plans, policies, census reports, reports of the DDC, VDC, and NGOs, as well as some books by the experts had been referred to and quoted as and when necessary throughout the research study. It was also

considered necessary to realize, contextualize, and set up an interrelationship on the basis of micro and macro- level information of a particular ethnic group with the rest of the people.

### **3.14. Methods of Data Analysis and Interpretation**

Data analysis is continuous process of reviewing the information as it is collected classifying it, formulating additional questions, verifying information and drawing conclusions. Analysis is the process of making sense of collected information for the purpose of the research. Since the study was dramatically based on the qualitative data generated through the sociological instruments, they were analysed by searching for patterns in data and for ideas that help explain the existence of that pattern / trend. In so doing, the qualitative data was analysed by first pursuing all the original text of the field notes and then identifying and listing all conceptual categories / patterns in data. Then, secondly, data was prepared in analogous patterns by verifying the context of original descriptions. Collating or separating them as appropriate as possible. Finally developing generalisations make third categories. A few qualitative data to be generated from the field work also is summarised by using frequency distributions, means, different tests etc. Then looking at the relationship of the variables under consideration make interpretations of findings. Qualitative data was analysed descriptively. Analysis of the information had been done by utilizing both quantitative and qualitative methods. Information such as caste and ethnicity, age, occupation, number of livestock, food sufficiency, land holding, loan, and group membership were computerised with the help of a software program for social science (SPSS). Some statistical tools like frequency, number, and percentage were used. In order to show the relationship among various variables (caste, age, occupation, livestock, food sufficiency, land holdings, loans, herbs income, etc.), a cross tabulation method was used. In addition to the quantitative method, qualitative method was also used to complement and cross check the collected information. While doing the



analysis, first of all qualitative information was selected and categorised into broad themes. Accordingly, the information was put in a tabular as well as textual form.

### **3.15. Limitations of the Study**

Following were some of the limitations of this study:

- i) By the nature of this study, one can imagine the requirement of an in-depth and the vast data as extremely challenging and complex task. First of all, this complex study needed a lot of robust data from the primary as well as secondary sources such as from the government agencies such as NPC, MoFALD, DDCs, VDCs, Municipalities and other government ministries and departments. Some of the research reports, data with facts and figures were not available. Thus, one of the major limitations of this study was to manage this study within a limited data, facts and figures available.
- ii) The primary data have been collected and analysed based on the information collected from Tripurakot VDC of Dolpa district only.
- iii) This study has not covered the situation of decentralised local governance in municipalities in detail. As the issues and problems of the municipalities are somewhat different from those of DDCs and VDCs requiring special attention to pay, they have remained somewhat independent of the control of DDCs. Taking these into account, although the municipalities fall under the category of LB, as a development agency not much detailed study on this has been undertaken, and;
- iv) It was very challenging to undertake this study at a time when the political situation in the country is changing so rapidly. Though major political events on the 'State Restructuring' and system governance such as 'Federalism' are swiftly taking place after the successful peoples'

movement II, this study doesn't cover these issues in detail as it basically covers the period from 1950 to 2009.

### **3.16. Conclusion**

The information used in this study was collected through fieldwork conducted for a year from June 2008 to May 2009. In order to collect the detailed household information, efforts were made to select representatives from all the ethnicities living in the VDC at the time. The selection was made on the basis of simple proportionate random sampling method. In order to collect the information, various methods, e.g., observations, structured and unstructured interviews, etc. were used. As the present research study had made the use of exploratory and descriptive designs, many socio-cultural features were found different from what used to be imagined. Therefore, the need was felt for documenting qualitative information for this study. Besides, some quantitative data on size, income, and belongings, etc. of the households were collected to complement the qualitative information. The qualitative information was analysed manually and the quantitative data was analysed by the statistical tools of SPSS program.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: STUDY AREA AND PEOPLE**

### **4.1.Introduction**

Dolpa District is one of the five districts of Karnali Zone in Nepal which is one of the a landlocked countries in the world. The district, with Dunai as its district headquarters, covers an area of 7,889 square kilometers. It is the largest district of Nepal covering 5.36 percent of total landmass of the country. It is located between 28°24' N - 29°43' N latitude, and 82°24' E - 83°38' E longitude, the elevation in Dolpa ranges from 1,525 to 7,625 meters above sea level. The district borders Tibet ( China) in the north and northeast, Jumla and Mugu districts of Karnali in the west, Myagdi, Jajarkot and Rukum in the south and Mustang in the East.

A large portion of the district is protected by Shey Phoksundo National Park. The name is derived from a 12th century Shey Monastery and the deepest lake in Nepal, the Phoksundo Lake, both of which lie in the district. The park protects endangered animals like the snow leopard, musk deer and the Tibetan wolf. Shey Phoksundo is the largest and the only trans-Himalayan National Park in Nepal. It is also one of the two districts that lie beyond the Himalaya or the Trans-Himalaya, Mustang being the other. Dolpa district is distant district of Nepal and the central point of this area is Shey Phoksumdo National Park. The east and south of Dolpa is surrounded by the Dhaulagiri and Churen Himal ranges and to the west by Jumla district. Trekking to Lower Dolpa offers the remarkable and advisable experience of lifetime (DDC, 2003).

Trekking into this Dolpa region presents an exposure to the remote Himalayan valleys, resembling the Tibetan highlands. The main highlight of this Dolpa trekking includes “Shey Phoksundo National Park” which is the major National Parks of Nepal. “Shey Phoksundo Lake” is another famous factor of this region. The lake is totally free of aqua life, which the crystal waters clearly explain.

Surrounded by rock, forests, and snow-capped peaks, the area has been described as one of the World's "Natural Hidden Wonders"(DDC,2003).

The Dolpa trekking starts at "Juphal" and follows the track to "Dunai", then continue to "Tarakot", way up to "Bangla" Camp, the uppermost point of this Dolpa trekking, after passing through the "Sanu Bheri" village, we then descend to the good-looking "Phoksundo" Lake, which is a piece of the "Shey Phoksundo National Park". The Dolpa district located totally on the trans-Himalayan area of Nepal and borders Mustang on the east, Myagdi, Rukum and Jajarkot in the south and Jumla and Mugu districts on the west, and the Tibet region of China on the north. The district distances an altitudinal range of over 5,000 meters from a little over 1,500 meters at Tribeni in Kalika VDC to 7,381 meters at the peak of Churen Himal. Kanjiroba (6221m), Mukot (6638m) and Putha Hiunchuli (7246m) are other renowned peaks.

The smaller ranges of the Great Himalayas comprise the southern border of the district. Between these and the border mountain ranges of Gautam Himal and Kanti Himal to the north Dolpa district is a labyrinth of often wide glacial valleys and ridges. Kanjiroba Himal and Kagmara Lekh running north-west to south-east separate the valleys of the Jagdula in the west with the rest of the district. Dolpa occupy 7889 sq. km. area and its headquarters is dunai. Dolpa's major occupation is agriculture (79.5 percent) and service (2 percent). Dolpa's climate is cold between 7000 – 13000 feet ( DADO, 2003).

Phoksundo Lake (The Sacred Lake), Shey Phoksundo National Park covering an area of 3,555 square kilometers, is the largest and the only trans-Himalayan National Park in Nepal. Large portion of the park is located in Dolpa District district with 810 square kilometers in Mugu District district. The park was formally gazetted in 1984 with its headquarters in Palam, in Dolpa district. The park contains the famous Phoksundo Lake, the deepest lake in Nepal. Phoksundo Lake, the deepest lake in Nepal, offers stunning beauty. Considered sacrosanct by the Dolpa locals, it is praised for its aquamarine

greenish blue color. No aquatic life in the lake pronounces that the water is crystal clear. Called by the seasoned travelers the jewel of Dolpo, Phoksundo Lake gives refreshing experience to the eyes. Ringed by tall snow-capped mountains, view of Phoksundo Lake is an extremely satisfying experience (DDC,2003).

Shey-Phoksundo National Park is situated in the mountain region of Mid-western Nepal near the Phokshundo Lake covering parts of Dopla and Mugu Districts. Gazetted in 1984, it is the largest national park in the country with an area of 3,555 sq. km. The main objectives of the park are to preserve the unique Himalayan ecosystem with its typical Tibetan type of flora and fauna, and to protect endangered species such as the snow leopard and musk deer. The holy Phoksundo Lake flows with full vigour amidst the Himalayan Mountains. The view of Himlayas adds to the beauty of the lake.

The crystal clear Phoksundo Lake Sparkling Waterfalls Dolpo, a remote area, is located in the north east part of Nepal. The timeworn place has had close relations with Tibet. Trekkers were allowed to Dolpo as late as 1990. However, to remain far from the limelight has its own benefits. Dolpo has been able to preserve its wonderful beauty. Trekkers can soak in the wonderful scenic view of Phoksundo Lake, and, at the same time, enjoy the intriguing culture of Ringmo village which is a mix of Nepalese and Tibetan influences. Monsoon in Dolpo region is interrupted by the Dhaulagiri range. This means that trekking can only be done in summer season (DDC, 2003).

## **4.2. Dolpa at a Glance**

### **Administration and Political Status**

Development Region	Mid-Western
Zone	Karnali
Headquarter	Dunai

Area	7889 sqkm (5.36 percent of Nepal)
VDCs	23
Electoral sector	1
Altitude	1525m to 7754m (from msl)

### **Demographic (Population)**

Population	29545 ( CBS, 2001)
Male	14735
Female	14810
Household	5812
Average household size	5.07
Annual population growth rate	1.7 percent
Population density	3.76 persions per Sq. Km
Settlement	137
Literacy rate	36.36 percent

### **Religion**

Hindus	64.6 percent
Buddhists	35.52 percent
Bonpo (Buddhist)	5.5 percent

### **Castes and ethnicities**

Kshetries	44.95 percent
Gurung	19.58 percent
Magars	12.17 percent
Kamis	8.92 percent
Thakuries	6.10 percent
others	8.28

### **Languages**

Nepali	65.01 percent
Bhote/Sherpa (Kham)	25.56 percent

**Physical facility/Infrastructure**

Piped drinking water facility	63.94 percent
Airport	1 on operation, 1 under construction
Telephone	150 line C dot, 5 line VHF
Electricity	17 percent

**Employment**

Economically active population	14087
Agriculture, livestock, forestry	90 percent
Manufacturing and industry	2.24 percent
Professionals, technicians, Administration, sales and service	7.08 percent

**Human development Index HDI (2008/09)**

Position	73 <sup>rd</sup>
Life expectancy (Male)	48 years
Life expectancy (female)	46 years
Per capita income	US \$ 770
Pro-poor	50 percent
Poor	25 percent

**Tourism spot**

Shey Phoksundo National Park  
Shey Phoksundo Lake  
Dho Tarap Valley  
Shey Gumba  
Bala Tripura Sunadari Temple

**Bio-diversity**

32 species of mammals  
196 species of birds  
376 to 407 species of herbs  
Habitat of rare animals (musk deer, blue sheep,

Snow leopard etc)  
Habitat of rare animals (musk deer, blue sheep,  
Snow leopard etc)

### **Forest**

Forest land	8.05 percent
Hand over Community forests	54 No.
Area of Community Forest	4489.197 He
Beneficiaries HH	3737
Timber product Stock	220500 Cub.
ft.	
Firewood stock	888723 Cub. ft

### **Industries/ Enterprises**

Small industries	38
Investment on Small industries	19 lakh 40 thousand
Employment on Small industries	172

### **Land use**

Grassland/ open area	31.48 percent
Snow land, Rock, Steep Slopes	59.29
Forest Area	7.59
Agriculture land	1.18

As can be seen the Table 4.1 below provides the VDC wise population according to the 2001 Census.



**Table 4.1 : VDC Wise Population**

S.No	VDCs	Total Hh	Male	Female	Total
1	Dunai	332	1218	1115	2333
2	Juphal	314	850	939	1789
3	Majphal	312	971	952	1923
4	Tripurakot	405	1047	1084	2131
5	Shun	237	759	694	1453
6	Pahada	259	872	862	1734
7	Liku	265	888	881	1769
8	Laha	172	494	479	973
9	Sarmi	269	749	804	1553
10	Narku	171	605	537	1142
11	Kalika	181	561	506	1067
12	Rimi	189	624	598	1222
13	Kaigaum	141	403	379	782
14	Raha	136	353	339	692
15	Phoksundo	77	239	252	491
16	Saldang	406	867	877	1744
17	Vijar	90	182	213	395
18	Tinje	228	548	584	1132
19	Dho	182	389	392	781
20	Lawan	208	660	745	1405
21	Sahartata	286	808	875	1683
22	Mukot	129	338	311	649
23	Chharka	106	306	335	641
	Total	5095	14731	14753	29484

Source: CBS, 2001

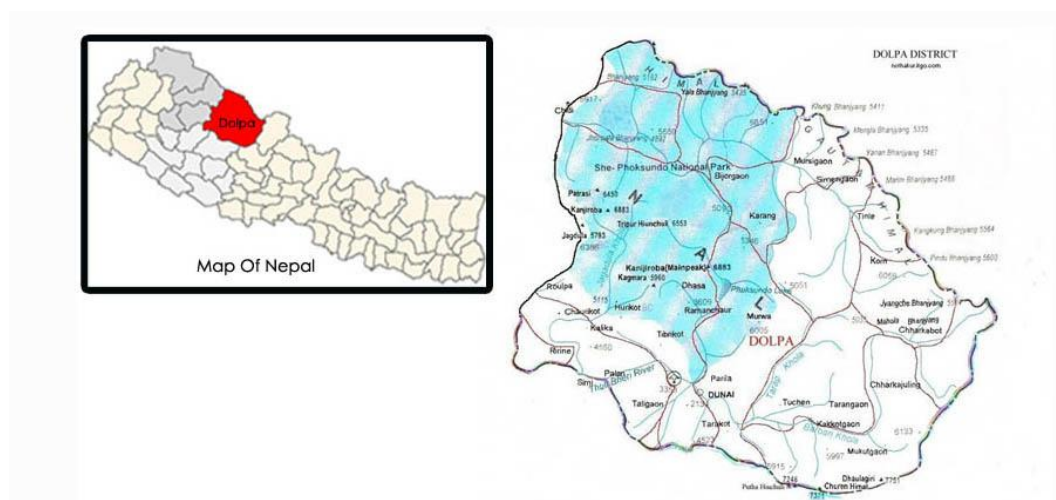
A Village Development Committee (VDC) in Nepal is the lower administrative part of its Ministry of Federal Affairs and Local Development. Each district has several VDCs, similar to municipalities but with greater public-government interaction and administration. There are 3913 Village Development Committees in Nepal. A VDC is further divided into wards. Dolpa District has 23 VDCs. Dolpa is among the least developed of the 75 districts (within the Karnali region) of Nepal. The mountainous districts are remote and drought prone, and the prolonged conflict in the area has impaired local governance, social organisation, and community based services. A range of approaches to water, sanitation and hygiene have been piloted, and applied across the country, but little research has been undertaken in Dolpa; district with some of the lowest sanitation coverage of the nation and inadequate water supply coverage.

Tripurakot is one of the Village Development Committee in Dolpa District in the Karnali Zone of north-Mid-western Nepal. At the time of the 1991 Nepal census it had a population of 1717 persons residing in 362 individual households and 2131 persons residing in 509 individual households (CBS,2001). Triopurakot is famous for a religious place. There is a big and famous temple named Bala Triputasundari. The VDC is divided into twelve clusters named Sarkitole, Kadhyattole, Bahuntole, Bistatole, Gallygau, Bagar, Rallygau, Madhu, Ruma five no. ward, Ruma six no. ward, Rasi Majhgau, Rasai Gumbagau, Rasi Dadagaun and Karelikada.

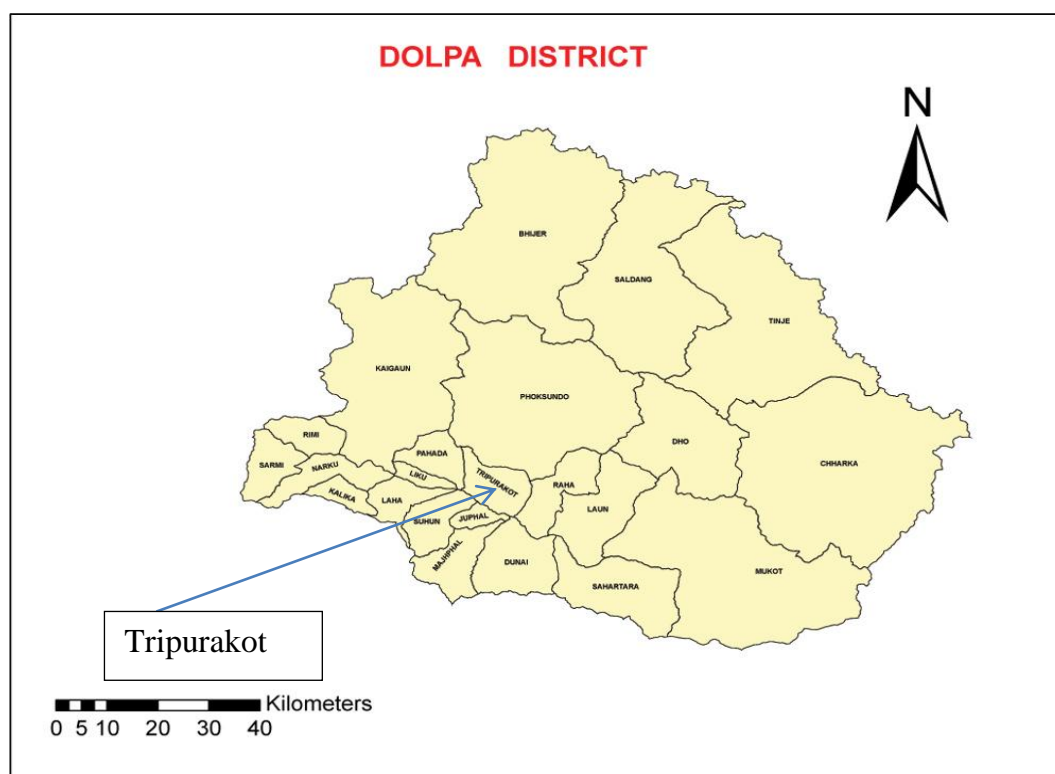
#### **4.3. Boundary of the Study VDC**

This study was carried out in Tripurakot VDC (see map Nos. 1 and 2) of Dolpa district. It is surrounded by Raha VDC and Range in the east Phokusndo VDC in the west, the mountain range in the north, and Pahada and Jufal VDCs in the south. Tripurakot VDC located within the Lower Dolpa belt has been chosen for the present study. The Tripurakot VDC is more or less square in shape,

## Nepal and Dolpa District



## Dolpa and Tripurakot



**Figure 4.1 : Location Map of the Study Area**

#### 4.4. Historical Overview of the Study Area

It is also claimed that the tools found in Dhon valley (in the mid-Mid-northern part of Nepal) are similar to those of south-west China. Coming to study the VDC itself, it was interesting to know how its name was derived. According to the folklores among Bramhin titled Neupane and Devkota and Chhetri titled Hamal, Kadhayart, two stories were found common. Tripurakot VDC is composed of old and new settlements by native inhabitants and immigrants. During the Rana regime, the VDC area was given as *Zamindari* to three different ethnic families of inhabitants. Kot village was allotted to Bramhin and Chhetri family, and the Rasi and Karelikada villages were bestowed to a Bhote family. All these *Pujari* (Priest) of *Balatripurasundari* Temple had settled them in the nearby Tripurakot. Thus came into existence the settlement of *Tripurakot Gaon* which falls in Ward No. 1 and 2 of the VDC. It was around early seventies that the Rasi and Karelikada top of the villages which falls in ward no.7, 8 and 9 area was allotted to the Janajatis kham Magar and other Bhote.

The most prominent areas with new settlements within Tripurakot VDC have been described above. Ethnic is not a new phenomenon even if there has been considerable variation in the terms used to describe societies which include within their boundaries diverse ethnic groups. In study area there are four ethnic groups, in household survey the responded are not greed impowing the marginalised ethnic through development process for impowring Janajati and Dalits. Especially Dalits who have not as untouchable they are less impowrd and active in politics. They are not allowed to visit Temples even a famous Balatripurasunsari.

#### 4.5. General Information of the Study

**Table 4.2 : Gender of Household Head**

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	131	91.00
Female	13	9.00
Total	144	100.00

Source: Author's field work.

In household head 91 percent are male and others are female. It showed most of the household are male and community dominated by male population.

**Table 4.3 : Marital Status of Household Head**

	House Hold No.	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Married	122	84.7	84.7
Unmarried	4	2.8	87.5
Widow	11	7.6	95.1
Widower	7	4.9	100
Total	144	100	

Source: Author's field work.

Marriage is one of the very important social institutions in every society. In Nepalese society, without married life is known as incompleted life. Altogether 122 (84.70) household head of 144 respondents are married and where as 4, 11 and 7 household head are unmarried, window and

widower respectively. It shows marriage and living together culture is still good in practice.

**Table 4.4 : Male and female able to read and write**

Male population able to read and write		
Household Numbers	Frequency	Percent
0	26	18.10
1	81	56.30
2	28	19.40
3	8	5.60
6	1	0.70
Total	144	100.00
Female population able to read and write		
0	63	43.80
1	64	44.40
2	15	10.40
3	1	0.70
4	1	0.70
Total	144	100.00

Source: Author's field work.

#### **4.6.Ethnic Distribution**

As can be seen from table 4.5, the study area is composed of mixed castes and ethnic groups.

**Table 4.5 : Ethnic Distribution of Households in Tripurakot VDC, Dolpa**

Caste/Ethnicity	VDC	
	Households	Population
Brahmin	31	136
Chhetri	245	1176
Janajati	153	796
Dalit	80	521
Total	509	2629

Source: CBS, 2001

Table 4.7 shows the sample households selected for the purpose of this study.

**Table 4.6 : Total population from sampled household**

No. of the family members	Frequency	Percent	Total No.
2	10	6.90	20
3	12	8.30	36
4	19	13.20	76
5	24	16.70	120
6	26	18.10	156
7	15	10.40	105
8	16	11.10	128
9	5	3.50	45
10	10	6.90	100
11	2	1.40	22
12	4	2.80	48
15	1	0.70	15
Total	144	100.00	871
Average members of respondent familiy			6

Source: Author's field work.

The average household size was found to have six persons among the studied households. However, in Ward No. 7 8 and 9 of the study VDC, majority of the inhabitants are Janajati (Kham Bhote).The size of all the wards of Tripurakot VDC is not similar, as is shown in Figure 4.1. Ward No.3 is very small whereas Ward Nos.2 and 9 are very large. Considering the population size, Ward No.2 is the largest one. A somewhat similar situation is found in the case of Ward No.5 and 6. Table 4.8 shows ward wise distribution of population, the number of households and population found in the ward. Similarly, the wards are inhabited by diverse castes and ethnicities as depicted in Table 4.8.

**Table 4.7 : Total Number of households by Ward and Caste/Ethnicity**

Ward No.	Total	Brahmin	Chhetri	Janjati	Dalit
	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH
1	55	1	10	2	42
2	62	26	36	0	0
3	70	0	43	10	17
4	66	0	66	0	0
5	51	0	51	0	0
6	60	2	37	0	21
7	59	0	2	57	0
8	43	0	0	43	0
9	43	2	0	41	0
Total	509	31	245	153	80

Source: Author's field work.



The spatial size and the ethnic distribution vary in different wards of the VDC. According to the data collected during the fieldwork, there are 509 households and 2629 people that comprise the broad demographic picture of the VDC. According to the household information, the composition of ethnic households is as follows: *Brahmin* (6.09 percent), *Chhetri* (47.94 percent), *Janajari* (30.06 percent), *Dalits* (15.72 percent.)

As can be seen from Table 4.9 below, in regard to the sex ratio, as it is usual in other places too 1:9 percent of the household heads of this VDC were male, whereas 9 percent were headed by a female.

**Table 4.8 : Gender of Household head**

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	131	91
Female	13	9
Total	144	100

Source: Author's field work.

#### **4.7.Values of Different Indicators of DAG Mapping of Dolpa District**

Table 4.9 below shows the relative positions of all the 33 VDCs of Dolpa district in terms of their population, geographically and development status.

**Table 4.9 : Values of different indicators of DAG mapping of Dolpa**

SN	VDC	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	Score	Rank
1	Bhijer	4	4	4	4	2	2	4	24	4
2	Chharka	4	4	4	4	2	2	4	24	4
3	Dho	3	4	3	3	2	2	4	21	3b
4	Dunai	3	1	2	2	2	2	3	15	3a
5	Juphal	2	1	2	3	4	2	3	17	3a
6	Kaigaun	4	3	3	1	3	3	3	20	3b
7	Kalika	3	1	3	4	3	4	3	21	3b
8	Laha	2	4	4	4	2	2	4	22	4
9	Laun	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	19	3b
10	Liku	2	2	3	3	4	4	3	21	3b
11	Majhphal	2	1	2	2	3	3	3	16	3a
12	Mukot	4	4	4	4	2	2	4	24	4
13	Narku	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	18	3b
14	Pahada	2	1	3	3	3	3	4	19	3b
15	Phoksundo	3	4	3	3	1	2	4	20	3b
16	Raha	2	1	2	2	2	1	3	13	2
17	Rimi	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	19	3b
18	Shahartara	2	4	4	3	2	2	4	21	3b
19	Saldang	2	4	3	4	2	2	4	21	3b
20	Sarmi	4	2	3	4	2	4	3	22	4
21	Suhun	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	16	3a
22	Tinje	2	4	3	4	2	2	4	21	3b
23	Tripurakot	2	2	3	2	4	2	3	18	3b

**Source DDC, Dolpa****Note:**

- I** HHs With Food Sufficiency Less Than 3 Months
- II** Concentration Of Marginalised HHs
- III** Condition Of Primary Schools
- IV** Condition Of Health Posts
- V** Participation Of Women, Dalit and Janjati In Planning, Execution and Decision-Making
- VI** Prevalence of Gender Discrimination
- VII** Prevalence Of Vulnerable HHs

#### **4.8. Family Structure**

Family is the most important unit in any society. Historically, it has transformed a good deal and so it can be classified in number of ways depending on the degree of attachment into a large group or a clan, kin- group of joint family, a large family with the siblings together, and a nuclear family. Indeed a family is a group defined by sex relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children (MacIver and Page, 1949).

In view of the prevailing households within the sample area of the present study, the researcher has divided family into three main categories: nuclear, extended and joint. A nuclear family may comprise the parents or a single parent with unmarried children. But a husband and wife living with their married children or his siblings would constitute an extended family. Similarly if the members of more than one generation are living and eating together in a single households, it is considered in the context of this research as a joint family system.

Among the sampled households 91 (63.2 percent) had nuclear family system only one was found to have extended family system and 35 (25 percent) households were found to be joint family? As can be seen Table 4.11, the size of a nuclear family ranged from two to six members, where as extended family had nine members and in a joint family had up to 15. Nuclear family is the predominant family type among all the people of the sampled area.

**Table 4.10 : Family Members**

No. of family members	House Hold No.	Percent
2	10	6.9
3	12	8.3
4	19	13.2
5	24	16.7
6	26	18.1
7	15	10.4
8	16	11.1
9	5	3.5
10	10	6.9
11	2	1.4
12	4	2.8
15	1	0.7
Total	144	100

Source: Author's field work.

The sample of households was decided on a random basis, although in light of the ethnic structure of the study VDC. Hence, the number of households is not the same for all the castes. The percentage has been calculated on the basis of the total number of the households of the concerned caste. The percentage figures presented in addition in Table 4.10 have been rounded.

Triopurakot is famous for a religious place. There is a big and famous temple named Bala Triputasundari. As discussed above, the VDC is divided into nine wards and twelve clusters. According to the folklores among Bramhin titled Neupane and Devkota and Chhetri titled Hamal, kadhayart, two stories were found common. Tripurakot VDC is composed of old and new settlements by native inhabitants and immigrants. During the Rana regime, the VDC area

was given as *Zamindari* to three different ethnic families of inhabitants. Kot village was allotted to Bramhin and Chhetri family, and the Rasi and Karelikada villages were bestowed to a Bhote family. All these *Pujari* (Priest) of *Balatripurasundari* Temple had settled them in the nearby Tripurakot. Thus came into existence the settlement of *Tripurakot Gaon* which falls in Ward No. 1 and 2 of the VDC. It was around early seventies that the Rasi and Karelikada top of the villages which falls in ward no.7, 8 and 9 area was allotted to the Janajatis kham Magar and other Bhote. The most prominent areas with new settlements within Tripurakot VDC have been described above. Ethnic is not a new phenomenon even if there has been considerable variation in the terms used to describe societies which include within their boundaries diverse ethnic groups. In study area there are four ethnic groups, in household survey the responded are not greed impowing the marginalised ethnic through development process for impowring Janajati and Dalits. Especially Dalits who have not as untouchable they are less impowrd and active in politics. They are not allowed to visit Temples even a famous *Balatripurasunsari*.

Among the sampled households 91 (63.2 percent) had nuclear family system only one was found to have extended family system and 35 (25 percent) households were found to be joint families. The size of a nuclear family ranged from 2 to 6 members, where as extended family had 9 members and in a joint family had up to 15. Nuclear family is the predominant family type among all the people of the sampled area.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: VISIONS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND RELATION TO POVERTY**

*“We all are farmers and Nepal is agriculture based country. So we should never leave farming. If we have money we can buy rice from Nepal Food Corporation (NFC) if don’t have then how can we survive? NFC and aid from outsiders will not be forever. We should not be dependent on the existing/current aid of foreign countries.”* Panna Bahadur Newar, 25, resident of Ralli, TripurakotVDC, Dolpa.

### **5.1Introduction**

This Chapter presents the empirical results of the field work carried out in Dolpa. As illustrated in Chapter Three and Four, the household opinion survey, observation and focused group discussion were conducted in the Tripurakot of the Dolpa district. In this Chapter, all the responses received from the household survey, observation and focused group discussion have been analysed and presented in a systematic manner. The analysis attempts to answer the research questions by showing the interconnection of visions of social structure and poverty in the study area. It is found that believes, as part of visions of social structure, is both a cause of poverty and outcome of poverty. This complex phenomenon has been explained with the help of primary data collected in the study areas.

### **5.2Leaving one’s birth place is the cause of collapse (satyanash)**

Most of the Nepalese people of the study area found to be religious-minded and god-fearing. In Tripurakot, there are both Buddhists and Hinduist. This research also found some of the villagers to be practicing both Hindu and Buddhist religious practices at the same time. The researcher came to know that they pray at monastery as Buddhists and enjoy Dashai and Tihar with tika,

worshipping the Goddesses Durga. They found to be traditional and conservative in their outlook. One interesting example of this is that they are reluctant to leave their birth place, despite being the victims of acute multidimensional poverty. The underlying common social norms and belief behind this thinking is that leaving their place of birth brings bad luck in their lives. The existence of the Tipurasundari Goodess temple in the village has also promoted the belief that not praying at the temple and going far away from the temple causes misfortunes in life.

During this field survey, the researcher came to know that no one had migrated overseas for work due to the prevailing belief, as stated above, that going out is the worse condition and way to destroy the life. While remittance income is one of the major contributors of the national economy and a strong determinant of poverty reduction, the people of the study area found to be not interested to go outside the country. They even did not like to migrate outside the district. This researcher was told some very convincing stories about the misfortunes undergone by some local residents after they migrated from the local village. It was told that, in the past, the migrants lost their property, prosperity and health.

At a time many villages across Nepal have become able to come out of their desperate poverty because of massive inflow of remittances, the villages in the study area appear to be hooked in the traditional belief-producing and reinforcing social structure. People of this area have not been able to observe and learn from the development happening outside of their villages. Despite massive information revolution ongoing on in the country, they are also restricted from outside information and mobility. They have no idea of global and national economic, employment and educational opportunities, and thus new modes of livelihood. The social norm of not leaving their own place is one of the major factors of the community backwardness.

### **5.3 Being female house-head is a sign of poverty**

It has been argued that economic progression and improvements in the quality of life for all people is more rapidly achieved where women's status is higher (World Bank, 1994, 2002). Women's leadership in the household may be a good reflection of such higher status. However, in the study areas the position of women found to be very weak. As can be seen from Table 5.1, only nine percent households are headed by women.

**Table 5.1 : Gender of Household head**

	Frequency	Percent
Male	131	91.0
Female	13	9.0
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

The labeled male-headed household is the norm, a pattern consistent with traditional family structures and views on gender roles, and their perceived relative economic importance. 91 percent of male household heads are married and have their spouse living with them. While nine percent of female-headed households are typically made by default in which they do not have their spouse present in the household. Widowed women make all female household heads. The questions then arose how the number of female-headed households are fair in the context of rural Nepal. It was found during the fieldwork that the female headed households were disadvantaged regarding the access to labor and credit discriminated against by norms and suffering from, among others.

High dependency burdens, economic immobility and the "double day burden" of their heads are other factors found to be disadvantaging women in the study areas. There is no such environment where women utilise their ability to



participate in educational, productive, and community activities and thus to empower themselves economically and politically. They are limited only in a household labor and assigned to wholesale of the responsibility for everyday household chores. They are not agreed male and female are equal and belief male only can do work properly become leader either within house and community. Ignoring female might be good indicator of backwardness, underdevelopment and poverty.

#### **5.4 School education has no use in life**

The Ministry of Education is responsible for policy formulation and supervision of all educational activities in the country. Besides planning, implementation and evaluation and monitoring of all educational programs in the government sector, the ministry also regulates private education providers. MoE's another important arm Curriculum Development Center (CDC) is committed to improve the education system, the curricula, textbooks and other reference materials. They are regularly revised and updated for providing quality materials. Non-formal Education Center (NFEC) implements a separate literacy program for women.

Education is more than reading, writing, and arithmetic. It is one of the most important investments a country can make in its people and its future and is important to reducing poverty and inequality. In this modern era, the **school**-aged children are also out of the school. In the study area, there are 49 children who are school-aged, out of the school within the 144 households, as can be seen from the Table 5.2 below.

**Table 5.2 : Out of school children**

	Frequency	Percent
0	105	72.9
1	27	18.8
2	5	3.5
3	6	4.2
4	1	.7
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

Similarly, as shown in Table 5.3, it is found that very few people, only 22.2 percent, households have SLC passed populations. Now SLC is a basic qualification but more than third fourth household have no such qualification to get any jobs. It is understandable that the low educational achievement results into low earning capacity and thus poor living standards.

**Table 5.3 : SLC Completed Population**

	Frequency	Percent
0	112	77.8
1	26	18.1
2	5	3.5
4	1	.7
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

The gender segregated data reveals that women lag far behind than man in terms of their educational attainment. As can be seen from Table 5.4, only

seven household (4.9 percent) among the 144 households have SLC passed female population.

**Table 5.4 : SLC completed female population**

	Frequency	Percent
0	137	95.1
1	7	4.9
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

Educational achievement of women in higher education is further poor. During the field study, it was found that there was not a single woman with BA passed within sampled households. As can be seen from Table 5.5, only four males are graduates within the 144 sampled households.

**Table 5.5 : BA and above total population**

	Frequency	Percent
0	140	97.2
1	3	2.1
2	1	.7
Total	144	100

Source: Author's field work.

During the interview with the local people, the author came to know that the local people believe that education has no meaning in their life as there is almost no job opportunity even if they got some degree of higher education. Thus, they think having school education is worthless in their life. It is

understandable that their social vision of not leaving the village further undermines their perceptions about the utility of education.

### **5.5 Eating rice is prestigious**

The widespread notion of rice eating as a prestigious accomplishment has undermined the initiative for local wheat, maize and millet production. The food assistance provided by the government and the donors in the form of rice changes local food habits. This leads to a neglect of locally grown foods, such as millet or wheat. The wider implications of this pattern of food consumption are the negative impact on health due to nutrition deficiency arising from rice consumption as well as undermining of the local economy.

It is found in the study area that, as in any agricultural economy, having access to land is still an important determinant of rural poverty. The landless and people without land security constitute the poor population in rural areas. Economic analysis has long revealed the importance of secure property rights for economic growth, and for this growth to translate into poverty reduction. The other benefits for the poor people with improved access to land include: Improved household food security in both subsistence (for food) farming areas or commercial farming areas.

Certainly, land is one of the most important means for supporting to survive human life. Therefore, all desire to acquire land whether used for farming or residence. This phenomenon is visible all over in Nepali context and it is more so in the rural areas where this study was carried out. Of the total 144 households in the study area, all were found to own land for agriculture whereas no one is found to be landless but they have very limited land and less productive land due to slope and high altitude. Since the lowly productive and tiny pieces of land can not provide food grain for the whole year, they must have to depend upon other means for their survival. The research observed that the food aid and food subsidy provided by the government and donors have also discouraged the local people to cultivate in their less productive but large-sized

land plots. This also suggests that, on the one hand, the local productive capacity is gradually eroding. On the other, people in the study areas have been increasingly dependent upon external assistance.

As can be seen from Table 5.6, the households in this study's sample have small size land holding. The largest landholding was found to have an area of 15 *Ropani* (0.765 hectare) and the smallest was 1 (0.051 hectare). Of the landholdings, the average size was found to be 5.354 *Ropani* (0.273 hectare), where perhead land is 0.0885 *Ropani* (0.045 hectares).

**Table 5.6 : Land Using Pattern**

Ropani	Hecto	Frequenc	Total land	Total land	Per	Cumu
1	0.051	5	5	0.255	3.4	3.47
2	0.102	18	36	1.836	12.	15.97
3	0.153	23	69	3.519	15.	31.94
4	0.204	21	84	4.284	14.	46.53
5	0.255	24	120	6.12	16.	63.19
6	0.306	17	102	5.202	11.	75.00
7	0.357	7	49	2.499	4.8	79.86
8	0.408	7	56	2.856	4.8	84.72
9	0.459	1	9	0.459	0.6	85.42
10	0.51	8	80	4.08	5.5	90.97
11	0.561	1	11	0.561	0.6	91.67
12	0.612	10	120	6.12	6.9	98.61
15	0.765	2	30	1.53	1.3	100.0
Total		144	771	39.321	100	
Avarag			5.354	0.273		
Per			0.885	0.045		

Source: Author's field work.

In the study areas, the crops that are used for food are called food crops. Rice, maize, wheat, millet, etc. are good crops. Rice and wheat are grown in the plain areas, in the river banks where the land is hot and wet. Maize and millet are grown in the dry land of hilly areas. The following tables show the attempt of agriculture population, production and food insufficiency.

**Table 5.7 : Total Population with agriculture as main occupation**

	Frequency	Percent
0	10	6.9
1	13	9.0
2	70	48.6
3	36	25.0
4	11	7.6
5	3	2.1
7	1	.7
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

Table 5.7 reveals that almost 90 percent households have agriculture as their main occupation. In the survey work carried out for this research, only about 10 percent of the sampled households agreed that they have another main occupation.

The author found that maize is the main main crop in the study areas. As can be seen in Table 5.8, about 45 percent of house-hold grow maize as their major crops followed by wheat and paddy. While the people of the areas have the potential to grow their local crops of high nutrient contents, their increasing attraction for subsidized rice has discouraged local production.

**Table 5.8 : Major production of crops**

	Frequency	Percent
Paddy	17	11.8
Maize	65	45.1
Wheat	30	20.8
<i>Chhino</i>	20	13.9
Potato	8	5.6
Beans	4	2.8
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

Table 5.9 shows that only about 19 percent of the households survive for the period of nine months or above by the food they have grown themselves. In rural survival context, people are depended on agriculture. Most people say their main occupation is agriculture. As stated above, in the study area all people have their own land to agriculture from 1 to 15 *ropani* but landowning all 144 households, only 6 were able to supply year-round food required from their family. The researcher found that food was sufficient for 12 months only for the six households and nine months sufficient for 21 households, 6-8 months sufficient for 43 households, 3-5 months sufficient 40 households and less than one month. The Table shows the extent of locally produced food insufficiency and the need for external food support or support for increasing local food production.

**Table 5.9 : Number of month's food sufficiency**

	Frequency	Percent
12 months	6	4.2
9 months	21	14.6
6-8 months	43	29.9
3 -5 months	40	27.8
Less than one months	34	23.6
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

In spite of the VDC level circumstances of food availability, only 4.17 percent (6 households) of the total 144 households have year-round food sufficiency. In other words, 95.83 percent of the households cannot afford to feed their family members for the whole year from the produce of their landholding, nearly one fourth 23.61 percent (34hh) can afford to feed their family less than one month, it is a very pitiable situation for the people. Food scarcity is the major problem of the VDC, Tripurakot. The macro and micro realities in regard to food do not indicate the same trend. The planners should consider the micro-level reality while planning for development interventions.

Nepal's food culture is strange. The people of Nepal who do not eat rice are said as not taken their main diet. They eat *bhat* (cooked rice) which strictly implies to rice for eating rice is prestigious compared to other foods. Hence, rice is culturally and socially associated to Nepalese society and role of rice is more important than ever from cradle to grave of Nepalese ethno-culture. According to study, size of land holding of rice farmers in study area varies from less than 1 ropani (500 square meters) to 15 ropani. Social status is measured on the basis of size of holding of rice. Rice fields are very expensive



and these are the most fertile land. People have less interest to cultivate less productive land where other crops easily grow. Due to the believes of rice's values they are facing food scarcity and searching for aid projects who provide them with imported rice, which taste as if it is outdated since ages . Food assistance in the form of rice changes local food habits. This leads to a neglect of locally grown foods, such as millet or wheat. This will further worsen the food insecurity scenario.

**Table 5.10 : Change in food habit**

	Frequency	Percent
Increasing use of imported rice and junk food	143	99.3
Aware for healthy food	1	.7
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

Most of the respondeds agreed on using imported rice and junk food. Only one person who thought people are becoming aware of healthy food. It shows local nutritiously rich food is not their priority. The implications of this misguided preference will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **5.6 Working in land is disreputable**

There are good farm labours, potters and infrastucture based labour market in the study area. As can be seen from the Table 5.11 below, more than 90 percent of the sample households are not involved in any wage labour. Since men are entangled in the culture of not working either in their own field or in other's field, the researcher observed that most of the male populations in the area stay

ideal. It is ironic that the local people do not work at all, but are able to pay the labourers from other districts. The money they make for paying the outside labourers come either from trade or herbal products or the assistance provided by the government and other donors. This unproductive and non-enterprising culture has not only caused the wastage of active labour it has also thus caused economic backwardness and underexploitation of local productive potentials.

**Table 5.11 : Total Population with wage labour as main occupation**

	Frequency	Percent
0	132	91.7
1	4	2.8
2	3	2.1
3	1	.7
4	2	1.4
5	2	1.4
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

It should be stated here that the people of the area don't want to be a labour because of the social structure. There is a strong belief that working in others land or works and even in their own land is said to be disreputable and disgressful. They feel that making '*aulel*', the outsiders who are from low land, to work in their land is the prestigious thing among the society.

### **5.7 Showing higher expenditure in feast and rituals is prestigious**

The researcher noticed that in the study areas there was a culture of doing unproductive expenses to gain social respect and status. As elsewhere, feast and rituals provide such opportunity to show their expenses-induced prestige. Their main iteams of expenses during feasts and rituals are meat, alcohol and rice.

Since all these items are imported from outside, every ritual and feast tends to become expensive. As shown in Tabel 5.12 below, more than 68 percent of the households spend more than sixty thousands rupees per year in different feast and unproductive rituals.

**Table 5.12 : Annual expenditure on festival /rituals**

Expenditure (Rs)	Frequency	Percent
10000-30000	21	15
30000-60000	25	17
60000-100000	39	27
Above 100000	59	41
	144	100

Source: Author's field work.

## **5.8 Consuming Expensive alcohol and tobacco is considered to be a sign of having higher income and wealth**

### **Annual expenditure on alcohol**

Alcohol and Tobacco overuse has been implicated in individual and family dysfunction health care costs. Controversy exists regarding whether poverty poses a risk show for increasing alcohol consumption. An economic condition postulates that drinking will decrease upon unemployment due to economic constraint. A psychosocial situation indicates that drinking will increase upon unemployment as a result of increased stress and increase the expenditure on unnecessary.

Very few Bramhin families have no expenses on alcohol but all families have tobacco. Most of the family expenses lots of money for alcohol and tobacco. This situation people spend more time unproductive and money.

**Table 5.13 : Annual expenditure on alcohol**

Expenditure (Rs)	Frequency	Percent
1000-10000	32	22
10000-30000	43	30
30000-60000	38	27
60000-100000	19	13
Above 100000	12	8
	144	100

Source: Author's field work.

#### **Annual expenditure on tobacco**

Taking tobacco is found to be common in all households. People expense Rs. 1000 to above 100000 annually on tobacco. They use both local as well as imported tobacco. New generation are attracted towards newly branded tobacco which is highly expensive. Even women are also equally addicted on tobacco. People over there do not care about their health and keep expensing highly on tobacco. Due to this they hardly can invest their money on productive sector and improve their health and children's education.

**Table 5.14 : Annual expenditure on tobacco**

Expenditure (Rs)	Frequency	Percent
1000-10000	32	22
10000-30000	43	30
30000-60000	38	27
60000-100000	19	13
Above 100000	12	8
	144	100

Source: Author's field work.

### **5.9 Same way of income and expenditure ( *Asari Kamayo Usari Gumayo*)**

Herbal medicine plays important role in rural areas in the absence of allopathic and ayurvedic medicine for the treatment of stomach-ache, headache and other illnesses for both males and females in the study areas. Local people have different kinds of indigenous knowledge systems to utilize those local herbs available in their agricultural fields as well as in the forests. There are various types of local herbs which have been used by local people for cure of different illnesses and but there is no any kind of mechanism to protect them from haphazard utilisation. Most of the herbs have been collected by faith-healers who are using them to cure local people but do not have any idea of protecting these valuable resources. Interestingly, the survey has also shown that a majority of the respondents (96.5 percent) have been found to be using these herbs for treatment. Generally, people use tree barks, roots, and leaves of the herbs for their treatment of illnesses such as gastritis, bone

fracture, muscle sprain, tonsillitis, and irregular menstruation of women, dog bite, snake bite, headache, fever, sinusitis, stomach-ache, abortion, uterus prolapsis and warding off the evil spirits from a person's body for good health. These herbs are collected from the government forest, community forest and the own private lands of local farmers. It has been ascertained that there is no institutional culture of protecting the valuable herbs from being extinct.

People in Dolpa call the high value medicinal herb *Cordyceps sinensis* as *Yarsagumba*, *Jara* (Root), *Kira* (Insect), *Jeevan buti* (Life tonic) *Chyau* (Mushrooms), and *Chyau Kira* (mushroom insect) etc. Dolpa district has been a famous ground of *Yarsagumba* in the country since long time. Local respondents in Dolpa have reported that collection of *Yarsagumba* started from 2044 BS (1987 AD). Before that common people did not have knowledge about its uses. According to respondents, local herders in the early years were the pioneers for their explorations. Formerly, they used to collect only the aerial part (fruiting body/ stroma) of *Yarsagumba* and collected in the doko (indigenous bamboo basket). They used to dry the product in the sunlight as primary processing. Local people believe that it gives good strength and hence they used to give it as gift to relatives and friends. People in Dolpa mostly involve themselves in agricultural activities; but in the season of *Yarsagumba* collection they keep all other activities in secondary priority and actively involve in *Yarsagumba* collection they earn money for their livelihood support. Local people, mostly indigenous communities, collect medicinal plants for trade and household consumption, for medicinal purpose. Traditional healers use different medicinal plants to cure different types of diseases. Local informants have said that barely 25 percent of total population including weak children, women and old people live in villages during the collection season of *Yarsagumba*.

Different beliefs are expressed locally while directly seeing the live and fresh larvae that are actually the host of *Yarsagumba*. Some collectors cover the larvae with some soil mass thinking that it will give birth to *Yarsagumba* in the next year. Some believe that seeing the live caterpillar in the beginning of collection is good luck for prosperous life. Thus, they are conserving the caterpillar; but some collectors also consume the caterpillar after roasting (in fresh conditions) and believe it to cure joint aches. Local and outside collectors in Dolpa district are aware of the uses of *Yarsagumba*. They are using *Yarsagumba* since last 20 years. Normally they used it as tonic and sexual stimulant for both sexes. Other local uses of *Yarsagumba* are in diarrhea, headache, cough, rheumatism and liver disease. People have their own knowledge for the use of *Yarsagumba* in different diseases. Different doses of *Yarsagumba* is used by its quality and also depending on the seriousness of the disease.

As a tonic and for the purpose of sexual stimulant, people of both sexes normally use a daily combined dose of one dried *Yarsagumba* with half liter of milk and two teaspoons of ghee for a week. Sometimes only a *Yarsagumba* with a cup of milk is also used. Local users believed that if this practice is continue until recovery, every disease could be cure. In another practice, one piece of *Yarsagumba* is put in one cup of local home made alcohol and left for half hour and drunk in the morning or evening as a tonic. Hot water could be used instead of alcohol. Though *Yarsagumba* play significant part in their income generation, a number of threats are annually posed to the biodiversity of producing pastures in Dolpa and these threats are mainly of anthropogenic nature. The major threats are due to excessive grazing of animals, haphazard collection, over trampling effects, high use of fuel woods, intentional fires with the purpose of getting fuel wood, obtaining better regeneration of *Yarsagumba* and securing better grass production for their cattle (in transhumance lifestyle)

in the next season. Everything possible needs to be done to ensure that a healthy environment is sustained and sustainable harvesting is carried out, so that medicinal fungi and plants will be able to provide a basic income to rural households and healing for generations to come.

The importance of protecting the indigenous and local knowledge is being recognised in national and international front. People in Dolpa normally consider *Yarsagumba* as tonic and sexual stimulant. Maintaining the tenure of pasture and conserving the biological niche for the sustainable production and management of this Himalayan treasure are present needs and all the concerned bodies should be responsible for these issues. Therefore, the overall knowledge on the natural distribution, abundance, population structure, dynamics of a species and ethno mycological knowledge are crucial.

*Yarsagumba* is a unique product. It is a fungus that grows on butterfly larva and is found above an altitude of 4000 m in Karnali and Western Nepal Himalayas. Dolpa is one of the main areas for Yarshagumba collection and trade in (over 50 percent of the country's supply comes from Dolpa). Until 2001, the Nepali government banned the collection of Yarshagumba, but illegal and unregulated harvesting was rampant. Because the trade was illegal, collectors received low prices (about 315 rupees). During this time, the price of Yarshagumba increased from 315 rupees per kg in 1992 to 900,000 rupees per kg in 2010. There was an arrival of thousands of people from many adjoining districts looking collect Yarshagumba. Local mechanisms were not yet in place to regulate harvesters

The FUGs had a few difficulties in guarding the forest areas from illegal and unmanaged collection, but the FUGs reacted quickly and formed four small task-force teams, with ten young, energetic FUG members to guard entry points to the collection areas. Where the District Forest Office, with all its



government mechanisms, had failed to regulate Yarshagumba collection and collect royalties, the FUGs have managed to bring about effective regulation of harvesting.

Most of households are not able to save even a smallest amount of money. They are usually in deficit of the budget and in order to survive them they take loan yearly. Every year they take loans from *Yarchagumba* Traiders in lower price. In the picking time it costs Rs. 600 per piece, but in advance they sell it at Rs. 200. They take loan before the season and pay back the when they picked *Yarchagumba*. This unsafe scenario is making them poorer and poorer every year.

**Table 5.15 : Household having Savings**

Saving	Frequency	Percent
Yes	99	69.3
No	45	30.7
	144	100

Source: Author's field work.

Table 5.15 shows one third of house holds are not able to save money during the money. *Yarchagumba* makes them life comfortable but many of them are not utilizing the money properly. Their belief comes easily and goes easily (*Jasari Kamayo Usari Gumayo*) is working them not utilizing the money and misuse the money. The income of herbs and *yarchagumba* has not been utilised so far. As it is a sudden income, the money is being spent in junk food and other unnecessary expenses. This income is spent quite fast in few months so the local traders lend money to them during the lean period on the condition that the loan should be paid after the income of next year. The standard rate of one piece of *yarchagumba* is about Rs. 600.00 but people also agree to receive

the loan on the condition that they will give one piece of *yarchagumba* at Rs. 100.00-200.00. The loans are easily received with the promise of giving *yarchagumba* after some months so it is misused. This trend has largely benefitted local traders and clever people. The ordinary people give solace to their hearts that it is an easy income so let it go easily. So the livelihood standard of poor is in the same level.

They think that marrying to farther village/district is not good for family and society. So, they only try to marry within the village or some nearest village. Only 2 percent household head got married in neighbouring district. It clearly shows that there are some barriers to get married to outside village and stop the social changes.

**Table 5.16 : Clan Status**

	Frequency	Percent
Within village	26	18.1
Nearest villages	92	63.9
One day walking distance	23	16.0
Neighbors' district	3	2.1
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

## **5.10 Conclusion**

In Nepalese society, a family with enough rice food is marked as wealthy one. It has been accepted in the pretext of limited paddy field, in which only the wealthy class have good access. Eating other simple food made of millet and wheat are marked with poverty. They were happy when they received rice bags during food crisis. For people who think themselves fortunate while having

rice, food for work was attractive as this programme also supplied rice, not other food grains. It is also said that people secretly used to eat staple food of millet but boost their ego by showing others by giving the left over rice to their dog publicly. By doing this, they make the neighbors understand that they are having rice as food.

The quality of rice produced locally and that one transported from far away are of different quality. Since the rice is easily available in the market, other nutritious food such as millet, *faphar*, *chino* are not cultivated properly so patched of land requiring little more efforts are left barren. The social attitude and so called development initiatives are making them less self-reliant or their dependency is increasing. The person smoking expensive cigarettes and drinking and offering alcohol has good reputation in society. Because of this attitude, good income gained from herbal business particularly that of *yarchagumba* is being spent extravagantly. Big portion of the income is spent on beer and alcohol as it is considered prestigious. Almost families spend some money in cigarettes and it is more or less the same in alcohol too.

When they spend good amount of income in cigar and alcoholic drinks, their investment in other family needs such as education, health, drinking water or livelihood means are limited. This is the main reason why their poverty level remains intact. The income of herbs and *yarchagumba* has not been utilised so far. As it is a sudden income, the money is being spent in junk food and other unnecessary expenses. This income is spent quite fast in few months so the local traders lend money to them during the lean period on the condition that the loan should be paid after the income of next year. The standard rate of one piece of *yarchagumba* is about Rs. 500.00 but people also agree to receive the loan on the condition that they will give one piece of *yarchagumba* at Rs. 100.00. The loans are easily received with the promise of giving *yarchagumba*

after some months so it is misused. This trend has largely benefitted local traders and clever people. The ordinary people give solace to their hearts that it is an easy income so let it go easily. The prevalence of such unproductive and extravagant cultural practices have resulted the livelihood standard of poor households in the same level and deteriorating day by day. As most of the ongoing development interventions have not been able to change these deep-rooted unproductive and non-enterprising social structures and practices, the production and reproduction of poverty and underdevelopment persist in the study area. The next Chapter discusses impacts of poverty-focused development interventions.

## **CHAPTER SIX: DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS AND IMPACTS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This Chapter presents the analysis of empirical materials gathered during the course of this research about the impact of various development interventions on poverty and other aspects of rural lives. The Chapter explores the overall national context of development interventions and their impacts at the household level in the study areas of Dolpa. It has been observed that development interventions, such as Food Aid Programme, Poverty Alleviation Programme, Karnali Employment Programme and other regular programme of the central and local government, have played a crucial role in terms of addressing some of the immediate difficulties in the lives of the rural people. However, the long-term and ultimate outcomes of these programmes have been dependency-inducing, maintaining existing social structure and non-enterprising. In order to demonstrate this rather unusual situation, analysis of the secondary information has been corroborated/triangulated by the rich survey data collected by the researcher in the study areas.

### **6.2 Development Efforts and Achievements**

The issue of poverty is multi-dimensional and multi-faceted phenomenon. As discussed in Chapter two, the 'term poverty' is define in a number of ways, as there are differences on defining poverty by different scholars, planners, and academicians. The NPC, in the Nepalese context, is the one who has broadly defined poverty in two categories; 1) absolute poverty, encompassing a notion of minimum subsistence appropriate to certain circumstances, and 2) relative poverty measured in terms of the inequalities in income, wealth and consumption distribution. Joshi (1979) classified poverty into natural and artificial. Morris (1962) related poverty to the physical quality of life by

constructing a simple index of life expectancy, infant mortality and literacy rates, Miller and Rein (1970), Dandaker and Rath (1971), Lipton (1985) have defined poverty differently. The first attempts to define and quantify the level of poverty in Nepal was made by the NPC in 1976/77 and per capita per day (at 1976/77 price) was taken as the minimum subsistence level (NPC, 1994). With the technical assistance from the World Bank, the government of Nepal has evolved its poverty measures in its subsequent household surveys to reflect the absolute monetary living standard of the people.

A number of reports demonstrate that Nepal's development has failed to promote opportunities for employment and rising of income of households of the rural areas. Panday (2003) dealt with connection among household, community and state in relation to the mode of livelihood of the poverty alleviation programs and livelihood options offered by these programs or projects. While designing/deciding the rural development program, the bureaucrats overlooked the genuine interest of the intended people. As an example, when Rural Development Project was being designed in 1983-1984 under the auspices of APROCS, consultants decided to adopt poverty alleviation (explicitly) as the central goal of the rural development project and, inspired as they were by the exemplary performance of the Tupche Small Farmer Project (SFDP) in Nuwakot at the time, recommended for the massive expansion of the SFDP in the two districts. But the whole idea went down. Therefore, instead of new poverty alleviation approach, the Bank (World Bank) adopted first phase (failed) model and spent more than 20 million US dollars, having its almost negligible long-term developmental impacts. At some point, every cent of the loan will have to be paid back, for which the whole of this country including those who are poor and undernourished will have to further tighten their belt (Shrestha, 1990: 45).

Studies have shown that government has been 'struggling' to uplift the people's living standard but to date the impacts have implicitly nurtured the interest or

sustained the development of elites not the poor. On the one hand, Nepal has been implementing various rural development activities but conditions of living of its rural population have gone on steadily deterioration and on the other hand, it has been investing its resources in the "urban" areas and the other urban-based manufacturing economy. Consequently, the development investments propagate a dualistic economy. A relatively small, newly emerging and organised modern sector with growing affluence of some sections of the population, while a vast traditional rural economic sector with the high incidence of poverty, underemployment and low productivity without the simple amenities of life. People have few opportunities and few possibilities to get out of the intricate problem of acute and widespread poverty (Pandey, 2000: 268).

Land is one of the principal productive livelihood assets, and the poor have less access to it. Paradoxically, the little land they may own constitutes 80 percent of the total asset of the poor households in rural Nepal. In a country where only 17 percent of the total land areas are agricultural land, the reduction of the landholding per capita is continuous rising. The poor agricultural households suffer additional disadvantages. The bottom 40 percent of the agricultural households operate only 9 percent of the total agricultural land (NESAC 1998:117-118, Quoted by Panday, 1999: 79, and APP, 1995: 186-193). The Land Reform Act 2021 (B.S.)/1964 and subsequent amendments have failed to produce desired impacts on the poor people's life. In the rural areas there are no opportunities for gainful employment for the farmers. As the 86 percentages of the households had possessed 0-0.5 hector of land, 11 percent possessed 0.5-1.0 hector, and 4 percent of households possessed one and more than one hector of land in the sample households of Panchathar district of eastern Nepal (Dahal and Shrestha, 1987: 6).

Very small landholding that means very small quantity of cereal production that means no year-round food for rural poor. And 48.50 percent of the rural

households could only afford to feed themselves up to six months. These two above cited case studies provide the general trend of food insecurity situation in the rural area. As stated by Pokharel (2007) the coping mechanism in the rural area of Nepal has yet to understand from the poor people's perspective and need to facilitate to address such issues in a holistic approach or manner, what would be alternative strategies to alleviate poverty, and how genuinely the target population could be identified would be within the interest of this study. According to the report of Nepal Living Standard Survey (NLSS II), absolute monetary poverty has declined drastically during the period between 1994/95 and 2004/05. The incidence of poverty has declined by 8 points in rural areas from 43 to 35 percent, and it has declined 12 points in urban areas (CBS, 2005:2). Such drastic reduction within a short period of time had not been expected while preparing the Tenth Plan (2002). The question here arises: Which of poverty alleviation program has contributed to reduce such an unexpected level of poverty in a very short period (2002-2004). Another crucial issue is to analyse disaggregated poverty situation of the country.

In remote areas, where majority of poor people lives and poverty level has not reduced substantially over the years, focus should be given to improve their living standards. A lot of efforts have been made to address poverty but new dimensions of poverty have been emerging, challenging these efforts. The condition of an underdeveloped country such as Nepal is more vulnerable and challenging. In our context, several previous efforts were directed to the rural sector to address the poverty because it was assumed that poverty primarily is the rural phenomena. Huge amount of internal and external resources have been spending on the name of poverty alleviation by the government and non-government, but result is not very satisfactory.

Nepal has been overwhelmingly possessed with rural characteristics. The monarchists, therefore, worked hard to seduce the rural people through hitherto unknown development efforts initiated with the help of foreign



money and human resources. The state initiated such interventions that created a trend in development thinking. Tribhuvan Village Development program (TVDP) was the first such intervention to address the problem of rural poverty and underdevelopment. It was initiated in 1953 in 100 villages to serve a total of 70, 000 villagers (Kunwar, 2003, p.279). It was based on the theory of providing small grants for the self-help type of infrastructure and it did not take into account the attitudes and values of people which were rather undermined as “ social traditional constraints” to developments ( USAID 1978, p. 353 quoted in Ferguson 1997, p.58). Contrary to the usual American policy, the notion of development at that time was to build some infrastructures. Overriding the philosophy of US development models and professional attitude toward the poor people of developing countries, they reflected their alien as well as negative attitude. One can easily understand the attitude of American development managers toward the poor people and the wide gap in understanding of cross-cultural issues and local context faced by both sides in relation to the imported exotic development model. The Nepali political economy followed the feudal mode of production and socio-cultural system was based on traditional norms and practices. But the US development model was to ultimately suit the Resourcesist interests and market requirements as well as the thinking of exports which was a lot of different from that of overwhelmingly uneducated Nepali people.

Hence, it was natural that it could not yield synergic results; rather the exotic development model generated a far reaching dependency on aid. Major achievements of the decade however were the implementation of the Five Year Plan (1956-1960). The decade started with a good deal of enthusiasm for better livelihood, but ended with a delusion in overall scenario of rural development. In other words, TVDP ended with the euphoria of ephemeral phenomenon of development intervention and made the common people scared of future development model (Prasai, 2006, p.58). After his takeover in 1960, the king was interested in getting international support toward his move.

The US's anti-communist movement interested synergised the king and the US in actually supportive situation which manifested in the form of Land Reform Act 1964 (Ghimire 1998, p.38-39). Due to access of the landlords into the hub of power and influence, all the policies and programs were implemented in their favour. The peasants had neither strong collective organisation nor any other power to influence the policy handling in their favor. The total landholdings of the landlord-households were as high as 66.17 percent and it was also mentioned that they themselves cultivated the land. It seemed very strange that landlords personally cultivated such a high proportion of land; it vividly manifested the contradiction (Zaman 1973, p.36).

Most of the programs and projects undermined the holistic approach and people's perspectives of the rural poor. It seems that all the programs/projects and their strategies have failed to achieve the set goals and their strategies have failed to achieve the set goals and objectives to alleviate rural poverty even within a half century (Panday, 1999).

As stated above, the government policy documents such as 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plans and Local Self Governance Act provided a supportive framework and accepted the institutional pluralism and encouraged the participation and involvement of CSOs, NGOs, private sector and other weaker sections of the community in decentralised local governance but it was not clear as to who these weaker sections of the community are. Because of this ambiguity, the same rich and elite groups have been successful to get benefits from all the plans and programs designed and implemented in the name of the weaker sections of the community. However, within the national context, the participation of CSOs, NGOs, media and other weaker sections of the community in local governance remained extremely weak. In many cases, these local institutions have become tools and means of local rich and

influential people to fulfill their wishes and get much benefit from every program of LBs.

Many Donors have been working with LBs, NGOs, CBOs and civil society groups to improve local governance, human rights and to strengthen local and parliamentary democracy. They have been supporting programmes like social mobilisation and group approach for promoting the participation and empowerment of CSOs, NGOs and private sector for decentralised local governance but again in real terms the poor and excluded groups have not been able to benefit from these initiatives. Also the experiences and lessons learnt from these Donors supported programs have not disseminated effectively to influence the policy makers and top bureaucrats at the centre.

In government policy documents such as 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> five year plans and LOCAL SELF GOVERNANCE ACT, there were provisions for participation of NGOs, CSOs and CBOs in local governance and decision making process but they were rarely implemented. The local people and LBs were insufficiently sensitised on involving the NGOs, CSOs and CBOs and their importance to decentralised local governance and local development. There was a dire need to develop an inclusive mechanism to promote the meaningful participation of NGOs, CSOs and CBOs in LBs decision making and service delivery. There was also a need for more sensitisation of the common peoples, local political leaders, activists, central government bureaucracy, district based government LAs and LBs towards the important roles of NGOs, CSOs, and CBOs in decentralised local governance.

In the following sections an attempt has been made to critically analyse the impacts of three nationally implemented poverty-focused development interventions. It is worthwhile to mention here that these interventions also implemented in the study areas.

## **6.3 Impact of Food Aid Program**

### **6.2.1 Introduction**

As discussed in Chapter Four, Dolpa is one of the most remote and sparsely populated districts of Nepal. The landscape is characterised by high steep valleys and relatively dry climate. No roads exist; access is by small plane or many days walking. Services for health care and education are very limited. Most people are without electricity, drinking water, full nutrition or basic medicines. Most families are subsistence farmers and traders, with people from northern valleys migrating to lower areas for the winter, bartering salt for grain. Life there involves complex webs of social, economic and resource use patterns.

Due to the undersupply of food in some of the mid-western and far-western districts of Nepal, the government of Nepal, along with the support provided by the donors, started to supply food as an emergency relief, later on, the food aid programme was tied with a number of development works commonly known as food for work programme.

Malnutrition rates in Nepal are among the highest in the world. Forty-one percent of children under five are stunted, 29 percent are underweight and 11 percent are wasted. The prevalence of stunting in the hills and mountains of the mid- and far-western regions is extreme, with rates above 60 percent. Micronutrient deficiencies are also widespread; in particular, 46 percent of children 6-59 months, 35 percent of women of reproductive age and 48 percent of pregnant women are anaemic. According to the World Bank, GDP lost due to malnutrition can be as high as 2-3 percent. Malnutrition slows economic growth and perpetuates poverty through direct losses in productivity from poor physical status, and indirect losses from poor cognitive function, and increased health costs.

As stated in Chapter One, this study is an attempt to explore, analyse and understand the outcome of various development interventions. In order to do this, one very crucial question to ask is whether or not the food assistance provided by the World Food Programme (WFP) and the National Food Corporation (NFC) creates dependency amongst the recipients. This is an issue of whether easing immediate hunger through the food for work programme has longer-term negative consequences for rural people's self-reliance, productive potential and entrepreneurship. In order to find an answer to this question, the researcher was motivated to carry out this independent research study in Dolpa. As discussed below, this study ultimately revealed some of the negative perceptions and outcomes of food assistance in the study area.

### **6.2.2 Impacts**

There is no general agreement either on the disincentive effects or on the cost effectiveness of food aid. It is argued that due to certain factors such as the existence of disguised unemployment, the need for family security, ineffective market mechanisms and lack of substitution possibilities, food aid does not cause disincentive effects on Nepal's food production, at least in the short run. However, food aid should be for a specific goal and should be phased out once that goal is achieved (Khadka, 1989). When global food prices rise, food aid recipients are doubly affected through decreased availability of food aid, and through higher costs of additional commercial imports needed to make up the shortfall. Empirical estimates of key parameters of the model suggest that countries with a high dependence on food aid may place their food security at risk (Taylor and Byerlee, 1991).

The researcher came to know during the discussion with the local people that food aid in the form of rice changes local food habits. This leads to a neglect of locally grown foods, such as millet or wheat. One adverse impact of food aid

programme is that the expectation of being provided rice by different programmes and development organisations lead to a neglect of local food production. Organisations are motivated by self-interest in promoting food assistance rather than agricultural development. In other words, the food aid programme created disincentives for local food production.

## **6.4 Impact of Poverty Alleviation Fund (PAF)**

### **Introcuccion**

PAF was established under PAF Ordinance 2060 (2003) and now it is working under PAF Act 2063 (2006). The World Bank has been the development partner in this development initiative of the government of Nepal. The purpose and an overriding mission of PAF is to reduce extreme forms of poverty by working under the approaches of demand driven program, direct community funding, community cost sharing as per the guiding principles of targeted to pro-poor, social inclusion, demand drive, direct funding and transparency. The goal of PAF is to reduce the national level of poverty to 10 percent by 2016/17. The first phase of PAF was implemented from 2004 to 2009 in 25 underdeveloped districts. Similarly, the second phase of PAF has been ongoing from 2008 to 2014. In this phase, the programme has been extended to all the 75 districts. Donor agencies such as World Bank, International Monetary Fund, Asian Development Bank, and International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) such as Plan International are also involved in poverty alleviation activities in Nepal.

Facilitation works are ongoing for implementation of social mobilisation, institutional development of communities, and preparation of community projects subsequent to signing of agreement with 417 Partner Organisations (POs). Programs have been implemented identifying ultra poor and backward people in some Fund's programme implemented districts through the medium of poverty pocket. These programs are being executed in cooperation with these

POs. These POs, in addition to social mobilisation, capacity development and skill development training, institutional development community organisations, availing technical support and facilitation in preparation and implementation of community projects, also assist for maintaining contact and communication between Communities and the Fund.

Tribhuvan University had conducted effectiveness assessment survey on the Fund's program in 2010 incorporating 3,000 households of 200 VDCs. The survey showed positive indication on the consumption capacity of the poor, food security situation, incomes, social development, school going trend among the school children and women empowerment. The study revealed that the beneficiary's consumption capacity has increased by 31 percent at constant price while the consumption capacity of those who have received financial support from 6 to 19 months has increased by 44.4 percent. The study has also shown that the food availability in poor rose by 10 percent. Likewise, social analysis study showed 82.5 percent growth in the average income of beneficiary households.

PAF Programs are relevant to the national policy to alleviate poverty by uplifting to the target peoples living standard over the nation. Fund directly goes to the hand of target people. Policy point of PAF programs are conducted as per the national policy objectives, the poor women, dalit and janjati are identified as primary beneficiaries, the people are targeted and selected as per the national policy criteria, the targeted groups /peoples are directly addressed, poor HHs receive cash directly. From decentralisation point of view the institutional and working model of PAF differs from the national policy to make access the resources poor through representative local government, the institutional set of CO is not defined properly.

## **Impact**

It is a general concept to provide loans and invest infrastructure development, in many cases it doesn't work because of alternative option to work in the interest of urban poor considering the separate nature/dimension of urban poverty. Improving and strengthening the institutional role and capacity through appropriate policy exit in grass root/community level but it invest more money on loan providing which is not properly used. Local farmer got Rs. 15000/- to buy a horse, it costs Rs. 100000/- how he can, then he asked for sheep purchase, then he shows the own sheep and misuse of the money. The money not properly used and they take loan and not paying in time, make their live more uncomfortable.

Lack of good coordination with other stakeholders including the line agencies and local bodies are not taking responsibilities of the programme and no clear provisions in policy, legal system that supports to work together with local bodies and government agencies and incorporate the programs of PAF within integrated district programs approved by DD Council, the money invested in local community and seed money misuse and local elite enjoy the fund and other poor are not benefited. In the absence of proper mechanism to monitor the fund, it is clear that there will be a break in societal peace. Pro-poor or deserving poor people,- need selection criteria also not clear so all people has taken the benefits and no significance change occur to the poor. Local government bodies – local leaders, CBOs, CSOs are ignoring the programme lack of the coordination. It is project basis programme so in the long-term will be dismissed, the intervention will be stopped, there will be a greater challenge on the long-term sustainability. Lack of effective monitoring and evaluation has also undermined the proper implementation of the programme. Due to not clear responsibility between CBOs and Partner Organisation (PO) to maintain the ownership of the program-for this there should be clearly defined role and responsibility govern to both. Continuous monitoring and evaluation of each



segment of the programme including POs, COs, CBOs, and Programmes. Fund flow mechanism should base on need based and environment supported along with capacity building programme also not proper maintainaion.

Financial recording and reporting system is also not in order, in women group and illiterate people don't know to maintain the ledger. Less number of employees and capacity of field level staffs, there are enhance and their number need to be increased. Regular effective monitoring for achievement of targeted not maintained properly There is a big problem of through a basket (mix model) financing mechanism in participation of the government, donors and community for long term the financial sustainability will be a greate problem. Redesigning the overall institutional, legal and working frame and set up of the PAF by amending the PAF related laws for making the PAF-local body relationship friendly and coordinative and establish a unit in DDC to coordinate the PAF activities is a demand of the people. They felt the need to improve accountability part of the PAF Program- need to develop strong and effective modality from grassroots to policy level. Local people think to improve on skill and training for the beneficiaries for its sustainability for both household levels to organisational sustainability. Lack of coordination between line agencies and PAF, the feeling of ownership could be generating grassroots and contribute to scape from poverty and make rural people's life more comfortable.

## **6.5. Impact of Karnali Employment Program**

### **Introduction**

Nepal has completed over five and a half decades of planned socio-economic development. However, we are not able to provide full employment to all the economically active people of Nepal, especially the people belonging to remote areas and marginalised communities. Ideally, people living in any corner of the country should have equal rights to get benefits of the development process. The development results should be realised by the concerned stakeholders.

The Karnali region of the country is believed to have lagged behind in comparison to other regions in most of the development results. Realising this fact, the government as well as other Donors has emphasised their efforts on the overall development of the Karnali region. Among other efforts, the government of Nepal announced the implementation of the Karnali Employment Program (KEP) through the Budget Speech in the Parliament in 2006, aiming at improving the situation of the region. The KEP was initiated as a scheme with the 'Ek ghar ek rojgar' (one family one employment) programme.

Karnali Employment Program area (KEP) covers five districts of the Karnali zone constituting 14.5 percent of the total geographical area representing 1.3 percent of the total population of the country. KEP was initiated five years ago without a detailed program design and an appropriate implementation modality. The cumulative total budget set for KEP reached a mark of NRs. 1,316 million. Being an anti-poverty program, 78 percent of the total expenditure goes to the poor in the form of wages. In fact, increase in the outlay on labor has greatly enhanced the effectiveness of the workfare programs in raising the income of the poor.

The cost-benefit ratio is 0.25 which is reasonable in the context of the level of development of the Karnali zone. In the present case, figures suggest that KEP transferred one rupee of the income to the participant workers at a cost of NRs. 1.30 in 2010-2011. It is to be noted that KEP included the poor as well as non-poor households largely because the program was highly politicised (NPC, 2012).

The social setting of the poor may be different in the various socio-cultural values, which may be recognised in several names and brand. For example, in Persian language, there are 30 words for naming poor. Similarly, in African language, at least 3-5 words have been identified for poverty. Moreover, in the context of Nepal, society perceives poverty as a matter of karma and poor are an outcome of luck that is termed as fatalism (Bista, 1994).

The projects, large and small, completed up to 2009-10 number 3,252. The highest number of projects were implemented in Kalikot (27.68 percent) followed by Dolpa (21.45 percent), Mugu (19.03 percent), Humla (16.14 percent) and Jumla (15.68 percent). As far as expenditure is concerned, the highest amount was spent in Kalikot (36.99 percent) followed by Jumla (27.72 percent), Mugu (14.44 percent), Humla (10.47 percent) and Dolpa (10.47 percent). It is obvious that the districts which have more budget have completed a larger number of projects. Of the total budget, 2 percent is kept aside for administrative expenses, 0.66 percent goes to each of the VDCs, another 0.66 to the DDCs and the rest is kept at the centre which goes to the central level KEP coordination committee. The average days of employment in KEP are 13. The average wage rate is NRs. 201 per day, which is lower than the market as well as the statutory minimum wage rates. Both males and females are paid equally while there is variation in the market wage rates between the sexes. Working outside KEP pays more than working in KEP. Payment of wages is not timely and also not paid all at once (Vaidya, Regmi and Ghirime, 2010).

### **Impact**

Lack of detailed study a focus on the identification of the poor and non-poor and basic infrastructure projects essential for a decent livelihood all household took the benefit from the programme. Who is employed and who is not is nconcern. Operation Procedure of KEP, MoFALD (targeting, eligibility and intake, focal office/officer, work scheduling, work days and wage rates) is to be clear. KEP has no skill development training programmes which are as a core component of employment generation that helps to find more permanent employment or self- employment. Only footpath mainatnace could not develop as a bridge to further employment. The program is not affected due to the same cause of PAF not being proper monitoring and supervision system of the KRDU as well as the DDCs. Without good monitoring and supervision how people aspects for good results. The programme's main moto is to provide at

least 100 days employment for unemployment household, but due to the elite capture the money is divided equally to every household.

## 6.6 Impact of Other regular Development Interventions

Besides the development programmes discussed above, there are a number of development interventions conducted in Dolpa. The researcher came to know that the rural people of Dolpa perceive development as a package providing money to be distributed among the local elites. According to their vision of social structure, they consider that “if development comes we will eat otherwise what we will eat?”. Following tables show the impacts of development interventions intended to make the rural people empowered and well facilitated. In order to understand the impact of development interventions in terms of empowering the dalits and other traditionally marginalised communities, the respondents were asked to express their views about the distribution of power in their villages. As shown in Table 6.1, socio-political and economic powers are still held by the high-caste people Brahmin and Chhetri.

**Table 6.1 : Development has not significantly changed on Ethnic Minorities on Politics**

	Traditionally		Present	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Bramhin	58	40.3	56	38.4
Chhetry	48	33.3	50	34.7
Janajati	36	25.0	33	22.9
Dalits	2	1.4	5	3.5
Total	144	100.0	144	100.0

Source: Author’s field work.

As can be seen in Table 6.1, about 38.4 percent of respondent viewed that Bramhin are taking the major role in politics followed by Chhetri and Janajati.

Although all development interventions have focused on poor and Dalits, the empowerment is not encouraging.

Another question regarding the power holders in society was asked to further understand the impact of other development interventions in terms of social awareness. As can be seen in Table 6.2, there is a good indicator, people started believe on educated person to take role for social judgemental cases. But there are no changes on for religious people. They still believe on religious people (*Jhakri and Dangre*) equally.

**Table 6.2 : Power holders in the society**

	Traditionally		At Present	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Elder Person	9	6.3	5	3.5
Religious people	40	27.8	45	31.3
Rich people	16	11.1	5	3.5
Educated people	23	16.0	76	52.8
<i>Mukhiya</i> ( Traditionally Headman)	56	38.9	13	9
Total	144	100.0	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

### **Reason for ephemeral death**

Another query regarding the people age in society was asked to further understand the impact of other development interventions in terms of health improvement. As it can be seen in Table 6.3, there is a good display, morethan 50 percent household head said that family members who were less than five died recently. It shows children mortality rate is high. Among 144 household, only in 2 household people had died above 65 years. The average age of Dolpali is 52. The youth of 30 years looks like 50 years age. The development

to improve health status almost went in vein due to improper cure and preventions.

**Table 6.3 : Age of people died**

	Household Number	Percentage
Within one year	30	20.8
Within one to five years	51	35.1
Within Six to 25 years	11	7.7
Within 26 to 50 years	35	24.5
Within 51 to 65 years	15	10.5
Above 65 above	2	1.4
Total	144	100

Source: Author's field work.

### **People still believe on Jharfuk due to the lack of good health services**

There is only one health post for nine villages. For some villages, it takes upto five hours to reach to the post. Lack of human resources, medicine and equipment in that area results to people suffer from various disease. They are compelled to visit *Jhakri* and *Debta for Jharfuk* (Magic) which is unscientific and incurable traditional belief. The government invests more money on health services and free medicines are provided for basic treatements, but these services are not available in these villages. People who have no capacity to go Dunai or Nepalganj for treatement suffer a long and die even from simple fever and diahorea.

**Table 6.4 : Reliance on Jharphuk and Jhakri (Magic) for medical care**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	112	77.8
No	32	22.2
Total	144	100

Source: Author's field work.

Table 6.4 shows most of the people go for the traditional and unscientific treatment. Due to the lack of basic medical services, people of those areas are not able to uplift their lives.

### **Drinking water and sanitations**

Only very few household were found to have access of piped drinking water. Because almost all the piped drinking water system has already collapsed due after few years of operation, most of the people use drinking water from river and irrigation canal. This clearly shows that the government development efforts have gone in vain due to unsustainability. Consequently, people have to drink water from the traditional sources which are not only far away from home, but also the water is not clean from the point of view of human health.

This author also observed that, without involving constructing and repairing the piped water supply system on their own, the rural people of the study areas were expecting another development project to ensure the smooth supply of drinking water. This shows that although the villagers benefitted from the water supply in the short-run, they ultimately became dependent upon the external development agencies for drinking water supply, besides their dependency upon food, as discussed above.

**Table 6.5 : Drinking water and sanitation facility**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	19	13.2
No	92	63.9
Not sufficient	33	22.9
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

Table 6.5 shows more than 60 percent people are out of access of drinking water, which seems to be very miserable conditions for the people.

### **Toilet Using**

Likewise, due to the lack of awareness and improper development interventions almost all households have no access of toilet. Among the 144 households only 3 households have toilet. Although various development agencies have promoted awareness campaigns related to the public health benefits of constructing toilet, the people in the study areas were found to be awaiting government support to construct their toilets. The author also came to know that one villager constructed a toilet exclusively in order to get money from one of the Donors. When he was not given money, he was very worried and unhappy. This situation, again, reflects the growing dependency culture among the villagers.



**Table 6.6 : House-hold having toilet**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	3	3.1
No	142	97.1
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

### **People's Voice on Development and Poverty**

As can be seen from Table 6.7, most of the people of the study areas still believe in local agricultural development as a major route out of poverty and deprivation. Secondly, they wish to build roads that connect their district with the national road network and thus with the national economy. They also believe in livestock's development for their livelihood promotion. It is found that people are not serious for educational development, which is the main backbone of the development. This also suggests that various development interventions carried out in the past could not alter local people's attitude of focusing on immediate needs rather than on sustainably improving their livelihood for the long-run through investments in education.

**Table 6.7 : Main areas of development**

	Frequency	Percent
Agriculture	42	29.2
Livestock	29	20.1
Employment	8	5.6
Education	2	1.4
Road and transportation	41	28.5
Water supply and sanitation	19	13.2
Don't Know	3	2.1
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

### **Government priorities**

As depicted in Table 6.8, the researcher also asked about the perceptions of local people about the development priority of the government. Two-third people viewed that government priority was focused on repairing footpath. The author found that developmet budget was allocated for every year to repair/maintain the same footpath. Local people divided the money amonge themselves, without virtually repairing the footpaths. This is how development means for them. While local people prioritised local agicultueral development as a route out of underdevelopment, government has allocated its resources mainly for repairing foodpath. This mismatch between the priorities of local people and the government has resulted into systematic underdevelopment of agriculture although development intervention have been catering short-term needs of local people. This situation in development intervention has also contributed to the continuation of social structure that induces dependency, short-termism and erosion of local initiatives.

**Table 6.8 Government priorities**

	Frequency	Percent
Agriculture	4	2.8
Livestock	23	16.0
Footpath	98	67
Education	11	7.6
Don't know	8	7.6
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

### **Major weaknesses of development interventions**

In order to understand the views of local people about the problems in development interventions, people thought that there are major weaknesses on development, like programme selection, implementation and policy formulation.

**Table 6.9 : Major weakness for development activities**

	Frequency	Percent
Policy	23	16
Programme selection	58	40.3
Implementation	39	27.1
Corruption	21	14.6
People participation	3	2.1
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

### **Are they poor in their preceptions?**

More than 80 percent of people thought that they are poor; some of them assumed that they are neither rich nor poor. Being poor means they are

expecting help from others. Their mind is fully set-up in receiving assistances from others and regular supports from organizations due to which they are becoming more dependent on them day by day.

**Table 6.10 : Are you poor?**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	116	80.6
No	19	13.2
No poor no rich	9	6.3
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

### **Effectiveness of Development plan and project**

The author elicited the views of local people on the effectiveness of development interventions.

**Table 6.11 : Development plan and project running effectively**

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	56	38.9
No	83	57.6
Don't know	5	3.5
Total	144	100.0

Source: Author's field work.

As can be seen from the Table 6.11, majority of the respondent from the poor segment of the local households agreed that the plan and projects, implemented in their areas, are not running effectively. Only the elites who are more benefitted from the development interventions viewed that the plans and policies have been effective. Since local discourses are set by these elites, the

existing development interventions, which serve only short-term needs of the local people, are likely to be continued although they do not address the sustainable development needs of the local people. They have also made the local elites dependent upon the external development agencies without improving the local productive capacity.

## **6.7 Conclusion**

The Chapter has explored the overall national context of development interventions and their impacts at the household level in the study areas of Dolpa. It has been observed that development interventions, such as Food Aid Programme, Poverty Alliviation Programme, Karnali Employment Programme and other regular programme of the central and local government, have played a crucial role in terms of addressing some of the immediate difficulties in the lives of the rural people. It is also found that many of the development interventions have not been based on the the priority needs of the local people. Consequently, the long-term and ultimate outcomes of these programmes have been dependency-inducing and in many cases killing of local initiatives. In order to demonstrate this rather unusual situation, the chapter made a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the available secondary information along with the rich survey data collected by the researcher in the study area. It is found that most of the households of the study area depended on *yarshagumba* and food-for-work programme other than agriculture for their survival. They also have to adopt more than one strategy for their continued existence.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

*It is the common end of the most diverse destinies, an ocean into which lives derived from the most diverse social strata flow together. No change, no development, no polarisation or breakdown of social life occurs without leaving its residuum in the stratum of poverty. Thus, what makes one poor is not the lack of means. The poor person, sociologically speaking, is the individual who receives assistance because of this lack of means.*

- Georg Simmel

### **7.1 Introduction**

Understanding the interconnectess among Social Structure, Poverty and Development Interventions and their impacts is a relatively new area for research and analysis. Since this type of analysis has not been sufficiently undertaken in the existing literature, it is carried out this study to fulfill this gap by utilising rich data from field work in Dolpa as well as from the secondary sources. Our findings have several policy implications.

### **7.2 Summary**

This study attempted to investigate poverty alleviation efforts through an approach by developing a conceptual framework which incorporates development interventions and emphasises the social aspects of the people. The study attempts to answer the principal questions like: What are poverty dimensions in rural context. How have the planned developmental interventions contributed towards rural poverty reductions and have influenced the outcomes at household level? How have the visions of social structure impacted upon poverty? Are developments interventions pave pro-

poor both in the short-run and in the long-run? Have these interventions induced self-reliance and entrepreneurship among the rural people?

As stated in Chapter One, this study was conducted with the aim of understanding a) the issues of social structure and its relation to poverty b) development interventions and their impacts on poverty. As stated in the Literature Review Chapter, poverty is the state of having little or no material means for earning a minimum standard of life. It is situation of not having enough food, shelter, clothes, healthcare, education, and other physical means required for maintaining a socially acceptable life and chances of living and improving it. Some definitions of poverty are relative, rather than absolute. Poverty alleviation has been the main focus of development in Nepal since 1956 when the country began planned development. While the Ninth Plan (1997–2002) developed a 20-year long-term vision for reducing poverty, the Tenth Plan (2002–2007), formulated as a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, was focused on reducing poverty at a faster pace.

This study is about the drive of visions of social structure, the unequal distribution of development fruits and situation of poor people especially from the far-remote area of the country and attempts to investigate poverty alleviation interventions. And this study uses a holistic approach by developing a theoretical framework which incorporates their survival app and emphasises the deeply-rooted social values and believes of the society. The study attempts to answer the principal questions like: What are poverty dynamics in rural context. How have the planned developmental interventions contributed toward rural poverty reductions and have influenced the outcomes at household level? How have the social values impacted upon poverty? Which social factors affect staying them poor? Hence, the study aims at understanding a) the issues of poverty and social structure, b) development interventions and c) the role of development interventions and impact on their lives.

The information analysed in this study was primarily collected through fieldwork conducted for a period of about one year from June 2008 to April 2009 in Dolpa districts. For the purpose of collecting the household level information, all caste/ethnic groups living in the studied VDC were included by using the proportionate random sampling technique. In order to collect information, various methods were used, e.g. observation, household survey and focus group discussions.

The research has made use of the exploratory and descriptive designs. It has emphasised on documenting the qualitative aspects of the rural people's realities. Besides, some quantitative information have also been collected as a complementary source, e.g. types of families and number of households; ownership of property, land and livestock; occupation, income from yarshagumba, social aspects and work for food etc. Of the total 144 were intensively studied over a period in order to understand the income and expenditure pattern prevailing in the study area. Some uncomplicated statistical tools and cross tabulations have also been used in this study. The qualitative information was analysed manually and the quantitative information was analysed with the help of Software Package for Social Science (SPSS), the statistical software.

Dolpa is one of the most remote and sparsely populated Districts in Nepal. The landscape is characterised by high steep valleys and relatively dry climate. No roads exist so far; access is by small plane or many days of walking. Services for health care and education are very limited. Most people live without electricity, drinking water, full nutrition or basic medicines. Life there involves complex webs of social, economic and resource use patterns. The major findings of the study are as follows



### **Not Leaving Own Place is the Main Cause of Their Backwardness**

In Tripurakot, there are both Buddhists and Hinduist. This research also found some of the villagers to be practicing both Hindu and Buddhist religious practices at the same time. Most of the people of the study area found to be religious-minded and god-fearing.. The researcher came to know that they pray at monastery as Buddhists and enjoy Dashai and Tihar with tika, worshipping the Goddesses *Durga*. They found to be traditional and conservative in their outlook. One interesting example of this is that they are reluctant to leave their birth place, despite being the victims of acute multidimensional poverty. The underlying common social norms and belief behind this thinking is that leaving their place of birth brings bad luck in their lives. The existence of the Tipurasundari Goodess temple in the village has also promoted the belief that not praying at the temple and going far away from the temple causes misfortunes in existence.

During this field survey, the researcher came to know that no one had migrated overseas for work due to the prevailing belief, as stated above, that going out is the worse condition and way to destroy the life. While remittance income is one of the major contributors of the national economy and a strong determinant of poverty reduction, the people of the study area found to be not interested to go outside the country. They even did not like to migrate outside the district. This researcher was told some very convincing stories about the misfortunes undergone by some local residents after they migrated from the local village. It was told that, in the past, the migrants lost their property, prosperity and physical condition.

At a time many villages across Nepal have become able to come out of their desperate poverty because of massive inflow of remittances, the villages in the study area appear to be hooked in the traditional belief-producing and reinforcing social structure. People of this area have not been able to observe

and learn from the development happening outside of their villages. Despite massive information revolution ongoing on in the country, they are also restricted from outside information and mobility. They have no idea of global and national economic, employment and educational opportunities, and thus new modes of livelihood. The social norm of not leaving their own place is one of the major factors of the community backwardness.

### **Low Status of Women is the another Cause of Poverty**

Women's leadership in the household may be a good reflection of such higher status. However, in the study areas the position of women found to be very weak. The labeled male-headed household is the norm, a pattern consistent with traditional family structures and views on gender roles, and their perceived relative economic importance. It was found during the fieldwork that the female headed households were disadvantaged regarding the access to labor and credit discriminated against by norms and suffering from, among others.

High dependency burdens, economic immobility and the "double day burden" of their heads are other factors found to be disadvantaging women in the study areas. There is no such environment where women utilise their ability to participate in educational, productive, and community activities and thus to empower themselves economically and politically. They are limited only in a household labor and assigned to wholesale of the responsibility for everyday household chores. They are not agreed male and female are equal and belief male only can do work properly become leader either within house and community. Ignoring female might be good indicator of backwardness, underdevelopment and poverty.

In this modern era, the school-aged children are also out of the school. Now SLC is a basic qualification but more than third fourth household have no such qualification to get any jobs. It is understandable that the low educational achievement results into low earning capacity and thus poor living standards.

The gender segregated data reveals that women lag far behind than man in terms of their educational attainment. Educational achievement of women in higher education is further poor. People believe that education has no meaning in their life as there is almost no job opportunity even if they got some degree of higher education. It is understandable that their social vision of not leaving the village further undermines their perceptions about the utility of education. It was found that there was not a single woman with BA passed within sampled 114 households.

### **Excessive Use of Rice, Alcohol and Tobacco is the Cause of Insufficiency**

The widespread notion of rice eating as a prestigious accomplishment has undermined the initiative for local wheat, maize and millet production. The food assistance provided by the government and the donors in the form of rice changes local food habits. This leads to a neglect of locally grown foods, such as millet or wheat. The wider implications of this pattern of food consumption are the negative impact on health due to nutrition deficiency arising from rice consumption as well as undermining of the local economy. In the study areas, the crops that are used for food are called food crops. Rice, maize, wheat, millet, etc. are good crops. Rice and wheat are grown in the plain areas, in the river banks where the land is hot and wet. Maize and millet are grown in the dry land of hilly areas. The author found that maize is the main main crop in the study areas. While the people of the areas have the potential to grow their local crops of high nutrient contents, their increasing attraction for subsided rice has discouraged local production.

It shows the extent of locally produced food insufficiency and the need for external food support or support for increasing local food production. Nepal's food culture is strange. The people of Nepal who do not eat rice are said as not taken their main diet. They eat *bhat* (cooked rice) which strictly implies to rice for eating rice is prestigious compared to other foods. Hence, rice is culturally

and socially associated to Nepalese society and role of rice is more important than ever from cradle to grave of Nepalese ethno-culture. This leads to a neglect of locally grown foods, such as millet or wheat. This will further worsen the food insecurity scenario.

The quality of rice produced locally and that one transported from far away are of different quality. Since the rice is easily available in the as aid or subsidy, other nutritious food such as millet, *faphar*, *chino* are not cultivated properly so patched of land requiring little more efforts are left barren. The social believes and so called development initiatives are making them less self-reliant or their dependency is increasing.

### **No Custom of Saving**

There are good farm labours, potters and infrastructure based labour market in the study area. Since men are entangled in the culture of not working either in their own field or in other's field, the researcher observed that most of the male populations in the area stay ideal. It is ironic that the local people do not work at all, but are able to pay the labourers from other districts. The money they make for paying the outside labourers come either from trade or herbal products or the assistance provided by the government and other donors. This unproductive and non-enterprising culture has not only caused the wastage of active labour it has also thus caused economic backwardness and underexploitation of local productive potentials. There is a strong belief that working in others land or works and even in their own land is said to be disreputable and disgressful. They feel that making '*aulel*', the outsiders who are from low land, to work in their land is the prestigious thing among the society.

There was a culture of doing unproductive expenses to gain social respect and status. As elsewhere, feast and rituals provide such opportunity to show their expenses-induced prestige. Their main items of expenses during feasts and

rituals are meat, alcohol and rice. Since all these items are imported from outside, every ritual and feast tends to become expensive.

People in Dolpa call the high value medicinal herb *Cordyceps sinensis* as *Yarsagumba*, *Jara* (Root), *Kira* (Insect), *Jeevan buti* (Life tonic) *Chyau* (Mushrooms), and *Chyau Kira* (mushroom insect) etc. Dolpa district has been a famous ground of *Yarsagumba* in the country since long time. Because of this attitude, good income gained from herbal business particularly that of *yarchagumba* is being spent extravagantly. Big portion of the income is spent on beer and alcohol as it is considered prestigious. Almost families spend some money in cigarettes and it is more or less the same in alcohol too.

The income of herbs and *yarchagumba* has not been utilised so far. As it is a sudden income, the money is being spent in junk food and other unnecessary expenses. This income is spent quite fast in few months so the local traders lend money to them during the lean period on the condition that the loan should be paid after the income of next year. The standard rate of one piece of *yarchagumba* is about Rs. 900.00 but people also agree to receive the loan on the condition that they will give one piece of *yarchagumba* at Rs. 100.00. The loans are easily received with the promise of giving *yarchagumba* after some months so it is misused. This trend has largely benefitted local traders and clever people. The ordinary people give solace to their hearts that it is an easy income so let it go easily.

### **Impacts of Development Interventions are Not Encouraging**

It has been observed that development interventions, such as Food Aid Programme, Poverty Alliviation Programme, Karnali Employment Programme and other regular programme of the central and local government, have played a crucial role in terms of addressing some of the immediate difficulties in the lives of the rural people. However, the long-term and ultimate outcomes of

these programmes have been dependency-inducing, maintaining existing social structure and non-enterprising.

In remote areas, where majority of poor people lives and poverty level has not reduced substantially over the years, focus should be given to improve their living standards. A lot of efforts have been made to address poverty but new dimensions of poverty have been emerging, challenging these efforts. The condition of an underdeveloped country such as Nepal is more vulnerable and challenging. In our context, several previous efforts were directed to the rural sector to address the poverty because it was assumed that poverty primarily is the rural phenomena. Huge amount of internal and external resources have been spending on the name of poverty alleviation by the government and non-government, but result is not very satisfactory.

The researcher came to know during the discussion with the local people that food aid in the form of rice changes local food habits. This leads to a neglect of locally grown foods, such as millet or wheat. One adverse impact of food aid programme is that the expectation of being provided rice by different programmes and development organisations lead to a neglect of local food production. Organisations are motivated by self-interest in promoting food assistance rather than agricultural development. In other words, the food aid programme created disincentives for local food production.

It is a general concept to provide loans and invest infrastructure development, in many cases it doesn't work because of alternative option to work in the interest of urban poor considering the separate nature/dimension of urban poverty. Improving and strengthenig the intuitional role and capacity through appropriate policy exit in grass root/community level but it invest more money on loan providing which is not properly used. Local farmer got Rs. 15,000/- to buy a horse, it costs Rs. 100,000/- how s/he can, then he asked for sheep purchase, then he shows the own sheep and misuse of the money. The money

not properly used and they take loan and not paying in time, make their live more uncomfortable.

Without good monitoring and supervision how people aspects for good results. The programme's main moto is to provide at least 100 days employment for unemployment household, but due to the elite capture the money is divided equally to every household.

The average age of Dolpali is 52. The youth of 30 years looks like 50 years age. The developemt to improve health status almost went in vein due to improper cure and preventions. There is only one health post for nine villages. For some villages, it takes upto five hours to reach to the post. Lack of human resources, medicine and equipment in that area results to people suffer from various disease. They are compelled to visit *Jhakri* and *Debta for Jharfuk* (Magic) which is unscientific and incurable traditional belief. The government invests more money on health services and free medicines are provided for basic treatments, but these services are not available in these villages. People who have no capacity to go Dunai or Nepalganj for treatement suffer a long and die even from simple fever and dhiahria. Due to the lack of basic medical services, people of those areas are not able to uplift their lives.

Only very few household were found to have access of piped drinking water. Because almost all the piped drinking water system has already collapsed due after few years of operation, most of the people use drinking water from river and irrigation cannel. This clearly shows that the government development efforts have gone in vain due to unsustainability. Consequently, people have to drink water from the traditional sources which are not only far away from home, but also the water is not clean from the point of view of human health.

This author also observed that, without involving constructing and repairing the piped water supply system on their own, the rural people of the study areas were expecting another development project to ensure the smooth supply of drinking

wather. This shows that although the villagers benefitted from the water supply in the short-run, they ultimately became dependent upon the external development agencies for drinking water supply, besides their dependency upon food, as discussed above.

Likewise, due to the lack of awareness and improper development interventions very few households have toilet. Although various development agencies have promoted awareness campaigns related to the public health benefits of constructing toilet, the people in the study areas were found to be awaiting government support to construct their toilets. The author also came to know that one villager constructed a toilet exclusively in order to get money from one of the Donors. When he was not given money, he was very worried and unhappy. This situation, again, reflects the growing dependency culture among the villagers.

### **Development Interventions are not in Local Priority**

The people believe in local agricultural development as a major route out of poverty and deprivation and they wish to build roads that connect their district with the national road network and thus with the national economy. They also believe in livestock's development for their livelihood promotion. It is found that people are not serious for educational development, which is the main backbone of the development. This also suggests that various development interventions carried out in the past could not alter local people's attitude of focusing on immediate needs rather than on sustainably improving their livelihood for the long-run through investments in education.

Government priority was focused on repairing footpath. The author found that development budget was allocated for every year to repair/maintain the same footpath. Local people divided the money among themselves, without virtually repairing the footpaths. This is how development means for them. While local people prioritised local agricultural development as a route out of



underdevelopment, government has allocated its resources mainly for repairing foodpath. This mismatch between the priorities of local people and the government has resulted into systematic underdevelopment of agriculture although development interventions have been catering short-term needs of local people. This situation in development intervention has also contributed to the continuation of social structure that induces dependency, short-termism and erosion of local initiatives. In order to understand the views of local people about the problems in development interventions, people thought that there are major weaknesses on development, like programme selection, implementation and policy formulation.

Most people thought that they are poor; some of them assumed that they are neither rich nor poor. Being poor means they are expecting help from others. Their mind is fully set-up in receiving assistances from others and regular supports from organizations due to which they are becoming more dependent on them day by day.

### **7.3 Conclusions**

This study attempted to analyse the issues of visions of social structure and relation to poverty. With special reference to the Tripurakot, Dolpa, it attempted to show that the usual appes and foreign food aid cannot solve the rooted problems in the rural areas of Nepal. Any rural development attempt has to put the rural poor at the center of the development for self-reliant. Offcourse a rural household requires a number of basic things such as food, shelter, employment, income, health services, education, social protection, etc. However, providing food aid and easy money became long-term difficulties. All these aspects directly influence a household. Based on the empirical findings of this research, the researcher concludes the followings:

- Because of unproductive social norms, beliefs, good income gained from herbal business particularly that of *yarchagumba* is being spent extravagantly. Big portion of the income is spent on beer and alcohol as they are considered to be prestigious in the existing belief system. Almost all families spend some money in cigarettes as in alcohol. Likewise, an anti-poverty development intervention is not just an academic concept or any another development app. It has to have links with the entire social norms and values. This aspect must not be overlooked while designing and intervening development activities.
- Government and non-governmental development agencies never thought that far remote districts can feed themselves and do not need to bring in to cover the deficiency of their local agriculture. They thought that a district like Dolpa cannot feed its people without food grain supply. Yet, Dolpa is practically doing so. The Study showed that they need the efficiency of less productive farms in order to produce enough food, yet it is said villagers in the Tripurakot of Dolpa's recovery from a food crisis. It is observed that national subsidy food supply is not a solution of food shortage. They are becoming lazy day by day having food grains with less effort and are also ignoring to cultivate all lands which is less productive but in huge quantity. Development interventions, such as Food Aid Programme, Poverty Alliviation Programme, Karnali Employment Programme and other regular programme of the central and local government, have played a crucial role in terms of addressing some of the immediate difficulties in the lives of the rural people. However, such development interventions have not been based on the the long-term resolutions of the pertinent problems of local people. Consequently, the long-term and ultimate outcomes of these programmes have been dependency-inducing and in many cases seriously undermining the local initiatives.

- Dolpa suffers from hunger every year due to less production and supply disturbance of food. Meaningful long-term alleviation of hunger is rooted in the alleviation of poverty, as poverty leads to hunger. Hunger is a terrible symptom of poverty. If efforts are only directed at providing food, or improving food production or distribution, then the structural root causes that create hunger, poverty and dependency would still remain. While resources and energies are deployed to relieve hunger through technical measures such as improving agriculture, and as important as these are, inter-related issues such as poverty means that political solutions are likely required as well for meaningful and long-term poverty alleviation. Indeed, overcoming the existing deep-rooted unproductive social structures through structural changes should be the cornerstone of any future poverty alleviation efforts in Dolpa.
- Food aid (when not for emergency relief) can actually be very destructive on the economy of our country and contribute to more hunger and poverty in the long term. Free, subsidised, or cheap food, below market prices undercuts local farmers, who cannot compete and are driven out of jobs and into poverty. Many poor nations like Nepal are dependent on farming, and so such food aid amounts to food dumping. In the past few decades, more powerful nations have used this as a foreign policy tool for dominance rather than for real aid. Due to the same reason, the study area also be destructive and drive into poverty unknowingly.
- Women's economic empowerment, or ensuring that women and men have equal opportunities to generate and manage income, is an important step to enhance their development within the household and in society. There are lots of policies and programs to empower women. Therefore, many programmes such as PAF, have literacy programme for illiterate women, loans for poor women to do self-income generation program but the status of women are not improving. By providing good

food for good health, excellent environment for education and strict participation rule in outdoor employment, women can certainly be able to decrease the gap that exists between women and men, which promotes gender equality.

- The significance of this dissertation is both applied and theoretical. An anti-poverty development intervention is not just an academic perception or any other development app. It has to have links with the entire social norms and values. At one level this study makes a contribution to the sociological aspects of poverty in general and development policies in particulars. The study argues that various development interventions have only addressed the short-term development needs of the local people. Such interventions however have dependency of the local people upon development agencies.

## **ANNEX A: GLOSSARY OF CONCEPTS AND TERMINOLOGIES**

**Absolute poverty:** A person living in absolute poverty is not able to satisfy his or her minimum requirements of food, clothing or shelter.

**Access:** Access is enabled in an environment that encourages and facilitates peoples to utilize service providers to reach the peoples within any given social context. It is dynamic and participatory, promotes inclusion and empowerment and advantageously uses local knowledge, perceptions and values to enhance awareness and understanding.

**Accountability:** Making development interventions or programmes more responsive to the needy peoples they seek to assist. It is also used by the donor community to make sure that the funds are used for the purpose for which it was intended.

**Bottom up:** Development interventions, which come from the grassroots or communities as opposed to the government planners or development agencies.

**Capacity building/development:** It is the progress by which individuals, groups, organisations, institutions and countries develop their capacities individually and collectively to perform functions and solve the problems to achieve developmental objectives.

**Capacity building:** It differs from the capacity development. Capacity building builds on a pre-existing capacity base. Its aim is to help governments, organisations and peoples attain a level of self-sufficiency that enables them to efficiently manage their own affairs.

**Civil society:** It is a complexly contested term usually referring to all peoples, their activities and relationships that are not part of the process of government.

Furthermore it denotes a public space between the state and the individual citizens in which the latter can develop autonomous, organised and collective activities of the most varied nature. An effective state and a vigorous civil society are mutually supportive. The state has a critical role with respect to civil society first in providing a functioning and accessible legal system and in ensuring the existence of a legally protected 'public sphere' where civil society can develop with no undue interference. Without a vigorous civil society the state is narrowly based and susceptible to capture by political and economic opportunities.

**Decentralisation:** It can be understood as a transfer of legal and political authority and/or responsibility of performing certain functions from the central governance level of an institution to the lower or private/non-governmental organisations. The concept of decentralisation may be broadly divided into different forms such as de-concentration, delegation, devolution and privatisation.

**Delegation:** It refers to the transfer of authority to public corporations or special authorities outside the regular bureaucratic structure. It involves deciding which functions to shift from the central government to semi-autonomous which implies the transfer or creation of a broad authority to plan and implement decisions concerning specifically defined activities

**Devolution:** It is generally understood as 'the most extensive form of decentralisation involving creating or strengthening independent levels and units of government through the direct assignment of decision making responsibility. It describes 'the increased empowerment of LOs with no direct government affiliation. It implies granting authority or decision making power to the local governments that have clear and geographically recognised boundaries and have the power to secure resources to perform their functions.

**Diversity:** The concept of diversity encompasses acceptance and respect. It means understanding that each individual is unique and recognizes individual differences. These can be along the dimensions of race, caste, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, age, physical abilities, religious beliefs, political beliefs or other ideologies.

**Donors / Development Partners:** It usually refers to the development agencies such as the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) or United States Agency for International Development (USAID) of US Government or to multilateral agencies such as the World Bank, but also includes INGOs who fund partner organisations in the countries where they work.

**Empowerment:** It refers to the transformative potential of the peoples to achieve positive changes in their lives by asserting their rights as women, children or citizens etc usually by group action, and thereby gaining greater power to solve the problems. In other words, it is an expansion of assets and capabilities of peoples to engage with, influence and hold accountable the peoples and institutions that affect their lives.

**Equity:** Impartial or just treatment requiring that similar cases be treated in similar ways.

**Gender equity:** The condition of justice in relations among the genders leading to a situation in which individuals enjoy equal rights, status and opportunities.

**Globalisation:** Globalisation refers to the increasing global relationships of culture, people, and economic activity. The term can also refer to the transnational circulation of ideas, languages, and culture.

**Good governance:** It can be seen as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises

the mechanism processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.

**Human capital:** Factors such as knowledge, skills and health, which increase the productivity of an individual.

**Human conditions:** Aspects of quality of life well-being and opportunities. These include the necessary material conditions for a good and healthy life including secure and adequate livelihoods, access to health, education, security, shelter, goods and services.

**Institutional building:** It is a creation, development and linking of certain functions to accomplish specific tasks within the institutions.

It encompasses non-governmental and non-profit organisations such as civic groups and associations, co-operatives, user groups, modern interest groups and traditional organisations, formal organisations and informal networks, political (advocacy groups) and non-political, social movements and community based organisations.

**Janajatis:** Janajatis denote the communities or peoples having their distinct cultural identities, own language, religion, custom and culture, whose traditional fabrics are based on equality, who have their own geographical and demographic areas in the country, who have written and/or oral histories of their own, who have the notion of 'we' or 'us', who have no pivotal or decisive role to play in the polity and administration exercise of the modern Nepal, who are indigenous or native peoples of Nepal; and who call themselves 'Janajatis' or 'ethnic peoples'.



**Line agencies:** The government line agencies are those ministries and their implementing agencies involved in development activities, which have a presence in all districts and the field level.

**Local bodies:** It refers to the locally elected government bodies encompassing the village development committees (VDCs), district development committees (DDCs) and municipalities. But the central authority doesn't want to call them as 'Local Government' but prefers to call them as 'Local Bodies'.

**Local development programme:** It is an integrated and iterative app that establishes relations between different elements such as i) reforms (political, administrative and fiscal decentralisation, land reforms), ii) local capacity and institutional development and iii) local governance (stakeholders' empowerment, promoting the local economy and improving local social governance for delivery of services). The synergy among these elements can create sustainable livelihoods, which in turn can contribute to poverty alleviation.

**Local governance:** It comprises a set of institutions, systems, mechanisms and processes, through which every citizen and their groups of a country can articulate their interests and needs, mediate their differences and exercise their rights and obligations at the local level. The building blocks of local governance are many. For the purpose of this study, it includes: local peoples' participation in socio-economic and political spheres for their development, partnerships and co-ordination among the key actors at the local level, capacity enhancement of the local actors across all sectors, multiple flows of information and institutions with transparency and accountability with pro-poor orientation.

**Local Organisations:** Decentralised management of resources, local governance and local development action requires the presence of effective

LOs. Existing legislation of Nepal provides operational responsibilities of LOs which, for the purpose of this study, would include NGOs, user groups, private sector and other CSOs.

**Marginalised:** Excluded and discriminated against but more than being poor or a minority. It results in being pushed to the margin because some peoples refuse to acknowledge one's basic rights, needs, beliefs, preferences and concerns.

**Non-governmental organisations:** It refers to the organisations created by a group of like-minded peoples or civil society members with the purpose of social development or welfare without taking profit. The common characteristics of NGOs are lack of a profit motive, being development or welfare oriented, being politically neutral and democratic in character.

**Participation:** It is used to describe greater involvement by 'beneficiaries' in deciding the type of development projects they need and how they are being run. The degree of this involvement can, however, vary greatly.

**Poor:** A state of being without, often associated with needs, hardship and lack of resources across a wide range of circumstances. Being poor implies being deprived of essential goods, services and basic needs and above all, the basic rights.

**Poverty:** Poverty is the state of one who lacks a certain amount of material possessions or money. Absolute poverty or destitution refers to the one who lacks basic human needs, which commonly includes clean and fresh water, nutrition, health care, education, clothing and shelter. Relative poverty refers to lacking a usual or socially acceptable level of resources or income as compared with others within a society or country.

**Social capital:** Features of social organisations such as networks and values including tolerance, inclusion, reciprocity, participation and trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit.

**Social development:** It is a new term used to describe the ‘softer’ elements of the development process as distinct from economic and technical issues such as education, healthcare, human rights etc.

**Social movements:** It refers to groups around the world taking issue-based action in a variety of areas such as human rights, environment, and access to land, gender rights, peace etc usually local without outside assistance at least in the first instance.

**Social position:** Peoples’ position in society and their ability to live in dignity. To improve social position one must focus on changing the nature and direction of systemic marginalisation by eliminating the barriers that underpin exclusion, inequality and powerlessness.

**Social structure:** It is a term used in the social sciences to refer to patterned social arrangements in society that are both emergent from and determinant of the actions of the individuals. The usage of the term "social structure" has changed over time and may reflect the various levels of analysis within differing sub-fields of sociology. On the macro scale, it can refer to the system of socioeconomic stratification (e.g., the class structure), social institutions, or, other patterned relations between large social groups. On the meso scale, it can refer to the structure of social network ties between individuals or organisations. On the micro scale, it can refer to the way norms shape the behavior of actors within the social system.

**Sustainability:** It is a desire by planners and developmental agencies to avoid creating projects, which depend on their continued support for success, also used in its environmental sense to ensure renewal of natural resources.

**Transparency:** It basically promotes an 'open society' where any kind of public and private action or behavior is not hidden. It enhances the quality or effectiveness of public policy making through open debate and it also commands general public acceptance

## ANNEX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Household No. \_\_\_\_\_ 2.ID No. \_\_\_\_\_ (For computer Purpose)

3. Name of Respondent: \_\_\_\_\_ 4.Family Members: \_\_\_\_\_

5. Ward: \_\_\_\_\_ 6.Village/Tole: \_\_\_\_\_

S.N	Name	Relations hip with HH	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Education Level	Occupation	
							Primary	Primar y

Relation with HH	Sex	Marital Status	Education	Occupation
01-Hosband	01-Male	01-Mrried	01-Unable to read and write	01- Agriculture
02-Wife	02-female	02-Unmarried	02-Able to read only	02-Gov. Service
03-Son		03 –Widow		

04-Daughter		04-Seperated	03-Primary	03-Private Service
05-Daughter in Law			04-Lower Secondary	04-Business
06-Grand Son			05-Secondry	05-Jobs in India
07- Grand Daughter			06- IntemEDIATE/+2	06-Oversease job
			07-Bachlor and above	

#### B. LAND, FOOD PRODUCTION, AND CONSUMPTION

B 1	Do you have land?	Yes 1 No 2
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S.No.	Question	Response	
B 1	Do you have land?	Yes 1 No 2	

S.No.	Question	Area ( Ropani)
B2	If yes, how much cultivated land do you have?	

Could you tell us crop production from all the cultivated land?	Production Kg			
	B3	B4	B5	
	Summer crop	Winter crop	Total Production	Price
Paddy				
Maize				
Wheat				
Others				

S.No.	Question	Response		
B6	How many months is your food production sufficient for your family?	Year round + sale- 1 year round- 2 9 months -3		
		6 months -4 3 months -5 less than 3 month- 6		
B7	How do you manage to meet the food insufficiency?	Loan 1 Livestock sell 2 Causal labor 3 Reciprocity 4 Other	Could you tell total cost for food ?	

B8	Question	Response	If yes, Price Rs.
	Have you produced cash crops last year?	Yes 1 No 2	

If yes, what crop did you produce and sell last year? (please list the item produced)	Production in Kg		
	B9	B10	B11
	Quantity Produced	Quantity sold	Total income from selling (in Rs

B 12 .How much you spend in different rituals, festivals and events of last year?

Dasai	Tihar	Loshar	Religious	Other (marriage, death etc.)

B 13. Your unnecessary expenditure?

Alcohol	Tobacco	Playing cards	Gambling	Other

B 14. Yearly medical expenditure?



Children	Adult (Male)	Adult (Female)

#### B 15. Non-Food Expenditure

Fire-wood/fuel	Clothes,	Sanitary (e.g. soap.)	Other

Total Income:

Expenditure:

Surplus / Deficit:

B12	What is your food habit?	Regular	Special
	Children		
	Pregnant women		
	Ordinary		
	Festivals		

#### C. Forestry

S.No.	Question	Response	Area
C	Do you have government forest near by your village?	Yes 1 No 2	
C1	Do you have community forest nearby your village?	Yes 1 No 2	
C2	Do you have private forest?	Yes 1 No 2	

S.No.	Question	Response	Area
C3	Have you planted trees in your land?	Yes 1 No 2	
C4	If yes, please mention the number of trees and year of plantation.	Fruits: No. ...Yr	
		Fodder: No. ...Yr	
		Wood: No. ...Yr	
C5	What benefits do you get from the trees? (Specify)		
C6	Have you planted trees in community land?	Yes 1 No 2	
C7	If yes, please mention the number of trees and year of plantation.	Fruits: No. ...Yr	
		Fodder: No. ...Yr	
		Wood: No. ...Yr	
C8	What benefits do you get from the trees? (Specify)		
C9	Are there any government forests nearby your area?	Yes 1 No 2	
C10	If yes, what benefits do you get from government forest? (Specify)		

#### D. Livestock

S.No.	Question	Response	
D	Do you have any livestock?	Yes 1 No 2	
If yes, could you tell us about your livestock?	D1	D2	D3
	Number	Income from livestock within last 12 months (in Rs)	
Cow			
Ox			
Goat			
Female Buffalo			
Male Buffalo			
Fowls(Poultry)			
Pig			
Other .....			

#### E. Social Structure

E1.Which categories of ethnic group , do you believe ?

a.Upper                      b. Middle              c. Lower                      d. Don't know

E 2. Which social group do you believe?

a. Upper                      b. Middle              c. Lower                      d.Don't know

E.3.Which group you prefer to get married your son?

a. Upper                      b. Middle              c. Lower                      d.Don't know

E.3.Which group you prefer to get married your daughter?

a. Upper                      b. Middle              c. Lower                      d. Don't know

E.4.How many populations clusters ..... by the ethnic group you belong?

- a. One            b. Two            c. Three

E.5.Which is the nearest population cluster where people belong to your clan live in ?

- a.                            b.                            c.                            d.

#### F.Kinship

E.1. Who are your near fellow from your father side ?

- a.                            b.                            c.

E.2. Who are your near fellow from your mother side?

E.3. Who are your near fellow from your daughter side?

E.2. Who are your near fellow from your daughter in law side?

E.3.Which community is active in politics?

#### F. Population cluster

F1.Which caste lives in your village?

- a.                            b.                            c.

F.2.What are the common things in your village?

- a. Rituals            b. Family ties(Relation)            c. Common deities  
(God) d. Common area

#### G. Power and politics

G.1.Who held most power in the village?

- a. Religious people                      b. VDC chair                      c. Rich people                      d.  
Educated people

G.2. G.1. Who held most power in the community?

- a. Religious people                      b. VDC chair                      c. Rich people                      d.  
Educated people

G.3 What type of power does the person hold?

H. Development and your views on development interventions

E. Loan

S.No.	Question	Response
	Have You Taken Loan	Yes 1 No 2

If yes, could you tell us the about loan.	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
	Purpose	Source	(In Rs.)	Interest Rate (In percent)	Duration (In Month)	Repayment Status ++

Purpose	Source	Repayment Status
Farming 1	Friend/Relative 1	Paid as agreed up 1
Food Purchase 2	Sahu/Mahajan 2	Paid with fine 2
Livestock purchase 3		Another loan taken to repay 3
Socio-Religious ceremony 4	Savings/Credit group 3	
Others (Specify) 5	Bank 4	Assets surrendered for repayment 4
	Others.... 5	Unable to pay at al 5

### Employment Status

S.No.	Family members available for doing any job.  Yes 1: No2	If no, state reasons for not searching?	If any one is working, what is the wage per day per head? (In Rs)
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Relate to poverty, social structure and development interventions

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

## **ANNEX C: CHECKLIST FOR GENERAL INFORMATION**

District \_\_\_\_\_

VDC \_\_\_\_\_

Ward No. \_\_\_\_\_

Tole \_\_\_\_\_

### **1. Geophysical setting of the Study Areas/General Information**

Physical information

Temperature

Rainfall

Soil types

Natural Resources

### **2. Social setting/Aspects (District Profile and Village key Informants)**

Social mapping of the sample area (HH, caste/ethnicity, social infrastructure, natural resources)

Settlement pattern

Well-being ranking

Average family size

Formal/informal organisations

### **3. Occupations (fifteen years age and now)?**

Main occupation

Secondary occupation

Tertiary occupation

Nature of tenancy (formal/informal)

Type of main crops

Corp production trend (increasing/decreasing/constant) Reasons:

Cropping patterns (multi/mixed/mono)

Cropping calendar

What are the changes in traditional occupation at present?

Which of these changes have made the poor people's livelihood enhanced or hindered?

What is the role of GO/NGO interventions in the changing circumstance?

#### 4. Collection/Production/Sale of Common Resources

Non-Timber Products (NTP) such as herb, roots, shoot, leaf, twigs, etc. from the forest (private, community and government)?

What are the purposes?

Earning annually?

Per family average:

In village:

Other common natural resources available to you for selling purpose?



5. How many people are working for more than a month outside the village?

Who are they? (Men, women, children)

6. Educational institutions

Name	L ev el	Da te of sta b.	Infrastruct ure			Studen ts			Teache rs			Fro m poor hh			Enrollm ent			Droupout		

7. Health services

No of health centre

No of medicine shop

Qualification Health personnel

Special Program or Project

8. Non government institutions

1. Agriculture

2. Livestock

3. Irrigation/Forestry

4. Education

4. Bank/Savings-credit cooperatives

5. Others (Specify)

9. List of development interventions carry out by non governmental organisations?

10. What sort of traditional (resource) management system existed?

Forest in the surrounding area of village 15 years or so ago?

Management of the forest ( Community/Government)

Patron-client relationship (*Bali Pratha* with Kami, Damai, Sarki etc.)

What changes have occurred at present in this regard?

What sort of contribution do these changes have upon the poor?

Changes enhanced or hindered the well-being of the poor people

If enhanced, how?

If hindered, how?

11. Poverty

Poverty (definition) over time (15 years ago and now)

Criteria of poverty (15 years ago and now)

Causes of poverty (15 years ago and now)

What do you mean by development (15 years ago and now)

Development interventions for poverty (15 years ago and now).

## 12. Social Structure

Family structure

Kinship structure

Distribution of the clan group is different population cluster of the area

Village and community structure

Class

Caste

Ethnicity

Power and authority

Relation with different community

Changed compared to what it was 15 years ago

Reasons for such changes

Positive social and cultural factors in contribution to poverty alleviation?

Social and cultural factors for decreasing to poverty alleviation?

Have they increased/decreased?

## 13. Types and patterns of Gift exchange system

Among poor HHs and

Between Poor (Dalit) HH and Rich HH (Water relation)

## 14. Traditional skills and knowledge sharing practices 15 years ago?

[Probe]

Changes occurred

Causes/reasons for such changes

#### 15. Existing class relationships

Dependence or relationship exists between the poor HH and the better - off HH

Stratification by social, cultural and economical factors

#### **Economic Dependence**

Human Resources support the better-off *hali* (Plough man), *gothalo* (Livestock tending), *khetalo*, (Farm worker), and domestic helper.

Contribute to the live of the poor?

**Socio-cultural dependence** [Supporting/Voting for *Shahu/Mahajan* (better off) to get some economic benefits, and social patronage]

Contribute to the poor people lives

#### **Cultural and religious factors**

Authorities on religious matters

Changes have taken place now in this regard compared to 15 years ago?

Causes/reasons of these changes

Incidence of conflicts over the past 15 years?

Major types of conflicts

Ways they are resolved

Trend of conflicts

Marriage system (child marriage,)

Dowry system

Medical treatments (Dhami Jhakri )

Blind believes (witches, ghost, dogmatism etc)

What else?

#### 16. Survival context

**Compared to 15 years or so and at present:**

Rapid increase in population

Frequent landslides

Massive deforestation

Massive river-bank erosion

Massive gully erosion

Noticeable soil erosion

Noticeable deforestation

Severe drought incident

Severe food shortage (famine)

Epidemic

Price rise in consumer goods compared to HH income

Expensive healthcare

Community drudgery increase

Density of population

Agricultural Density

Emploment Density

Source of water supply

Types of house

Foreign employment

What else

7. Density of population
8. Agricultural Density
9. Emploment Density
10. Source of water supply
11. Types of house
12. Foreign employment

Thank you for your cooperation.

## ANNEX D : NAMES AND DETAILS OF RESPONDENTS

### I. VDC Level

Name of the respondent	Name of the respondent
1.Adam Singh Kadhayat	2. Dhana Chandra Thapa
3. Kali Prasad Khatri	4. Nwagi Sarki
5. Akkal Singh Kadhaya	6. Dhana Karma Baiji
7. Kamal Bahadur Buda	8. Pancha Ram Buda
9. Amar Singh Buda	10. Dhana Karna Kadhayat
11. Kaman Buda	12. Panna B. Rokaya
13. Karma B.Thapa	14. Panna Bahadur Thapa
15. Ananta Bahadur Buda	16. Dhana Prasad Hamal
17. Badhe Kulal	18. Dhanalal Thapa
19. Karma Singh Thapa	20. Prem Mahatara
21. Karma Ukheda	22. Prem Prasad Devkota
23. Bal Bahadur Ukheda	24. Dhanashara Nagarkoti
25. Bala Bahadur Buda	26. Dharmi Nepali
27. Karna Bahadur Bohora	28. Puri Prasad Hamal

Name of the respondent	Name of the respondent
29. Bala Bahadur Shahi	30. Dhirga Lal Ukheda
31. Karna Buda	32. Purna Keshar Neupane
33. Khoyabu Bohora	34. Purna Laxmi upadhya
35. Bala Singh Rakaya	36. Dhole Sarki
37. Khumsingh Bohora	38. Rabi Prasad Neupane
39. Bala Ukheda	40. Dhrma Singh Rokya
41. Bhagawati Pahadi	42. Ganga Bahadur Buda
43. Krishna Raj Shahi	44. Ram Bahadur Sunar
45. Bhairav Shahi	46. Goili Buda
47. Laba Chandra Rokaya	48. Ram Singh Buda
49. Bhanu Chandra Upadhyaya	50. Gope Sarki
51. LaL Bahadur Buda	52. Rana Bahadur Buda
53. Bhim B. Sarki	54. Hari Bahadur Newar
55. Lal Chandra Buda	56. Rana Bahadur K.C.
57. Bhim Bahadur Bista	58. Hari Bishnu Buda
59. Lali Buda	60. Rangbire Sarki



Name of the respondent	Name of the respondent
61. Bina Buda	62. Hari Chandra Hamal
63. Lalit Shreshtha	64. Ranjeet Sunar
65. Bir Bahadur Buda	66. Hari Lal Thapa
67. Laure Rokaya	68. Ratna Prasad Thapa
69. Laxi Sarki	70. Rupa Thapa
71. Bir Bahadur Buda 1	72. Harka Lal Buda
73. Laxmi Buda	74. Rupasar Rokaya
75. Bir Bahadur Kadhayat	76. Harka Shahi Rokaya
77. Birendra Buda	78. Hira Bir Rokya
79. Lok Bahadur Rokaya	80. Sanjit Thapa
81. Birlal Bohara	82. Hira Lal Thapa
83. Madhav Singh Kadhay	84. Sat Bahadur B.K.
85. Bise Sarki	86. Hira Lal Ukheda
87. Man Prasad Lama	88. Shiva Bahadur Thapa
89. Mana Bahadur Buda	90. Shiva Lal Thapa
91. Bishnu Chandra Roka	92. Hiralal Thapa

Name of the respondent	Name of the respondent
93. Mana Bahadur Thapa	94. Shreeram Kulal
95. Bishnu Chandra Upadhyaya	96. Hoita Sarki
97. Bishnu Rudra Thapa	98. Jaman Buda
99. Mana Bir Buda	100. Singa Raj Buda
101. Mana Prasad Kadhayat	102. Sonam Bohora
103. Bisnu Chndra Rokaya	104. Janga Bir Rokaya
105. Brikha lal Buda	106. Jashi Ram Rokaya
107. Mohan Singh Ukheda	108. Sonu Bohara
109. Budha Ram Buda	110. Jaya Bahadur Bista
111. Munakarma Thapa	112. Suk Bahadur Thapa
113. Bushnu Rudra Upadhyaya	114. Jaya bahadur Buda
115. Namgam Baiji	116. Sunja Buda
117. Chandra Man Thapa	118. Jaya Bahadur Lama
119. Nanda Bahadur Thapa	120. Sur Bahadur Ukheda
121. Chandra Prasad Bohara	122. Jaya Bahadur Ukheda
123. Nanda Bir Rokaya	124. Surendra Thapa

Name of the respondent	Name of the respondent
125. Chandramani Sarki	126. Jaya Singh Thapa
127. Nani Maya Kadhayat	128. Surya Bohora
129. Dal Bahadur Thapa	130. Kachaoila Lama
131. Nar B. Ranabhat	132. Surya Buda
133. Nauli Sarki	134. Tanka Prasad Upadhyata
135. Dambar Singh Kadhayat	136. Kailo Kulal
137. Dev Singh Thapa	138. Kalami Sarki
139. Netra Bahadur Buda	140. Top Bahadur Shahi
141. Dhana Bahadur Thapa	142. Kali Bahadur Buda
143. Nima Siring Bohara	144. Tule Sarki

## II. District Level

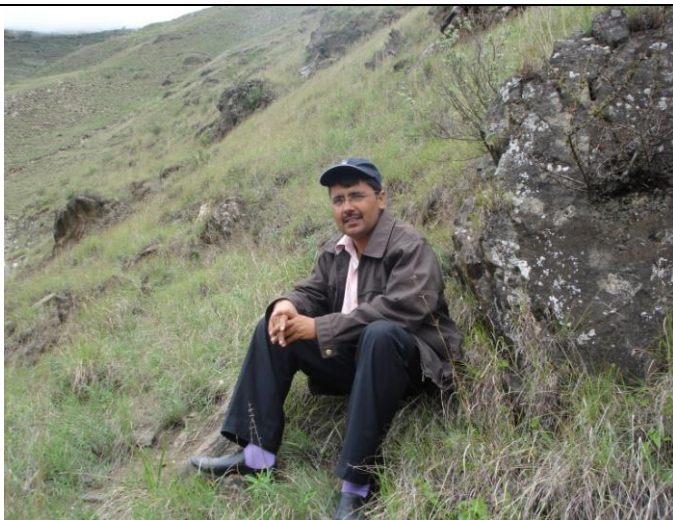
S.No.	Name	Organisation	Désignation
1.	Mr. Ananda Keshai Pokharel	District Développment Committee	Local Development Officer
2.	Mr. Dil Bahadur Ghimire	Chief District Officer	District Administration Office, Dolpa

S.No.	Name	Organisation	Désignation
3.	Mr. Mal Bahadur shahi	Secretary	UNCP Maoist
4.	Mr. Shree Bahadur Shahi	Chairman	Nepali Congress, Dolpa
5.	Mr. Amar Bahadur Malla	Section officer	District Post Office, Dolpa
6.	Mr. Raju Chhetri	District Forest Officer	District Forest Office
7.	Mr. Jaya Bahadur KC	Principal	Saraswoti Model Higher Secondari School
8.	Mr. Kul Bahadur Fadera	District Education Officer	District Education Office
9.	Mr. Rabi Chandra Panjiyar	Engineer	District Technical Offiice
10.	Mr. Bharat Mani Pokharel	Agriculture Development Officer	District Agriculture Office
11.	Mr. Chandra Bahadur Shahi	Joint- Chairperson	Nepali Congress
12.	Mr. Gauri Shankar Upadyaya	Representative	Nepali Congress
13.	Mr. Rabi Lal Khatri	Officer	Agriculture Development Bank
14.	Mrs. Mana Sara Shahi	Women Development Officer	Women Development Office
15.	Mrs. Khima Shahi	Office Secretary	DIPROCS Nepal

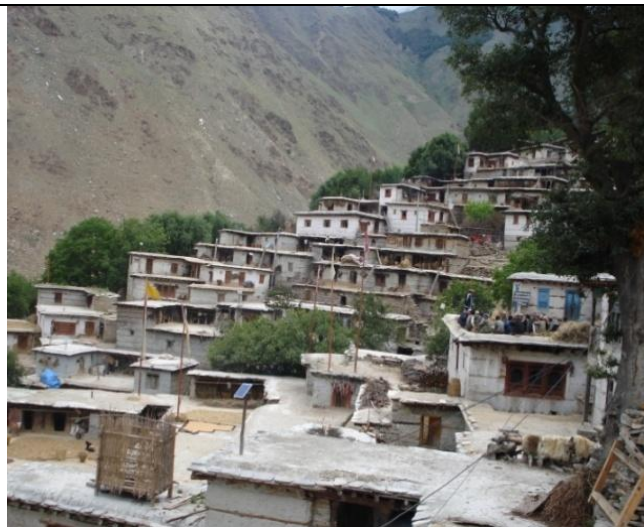
S.No.	Name	Organisation	Désignation
16.	Mr. Mahendra Prasad Chaudhary	Engineer	Water and Sanitation Sub-Division Office
17.	Mr. Nandalal Subedi	Centre Chief	Nepal Electricity Authority, Dolpa
18.	Mr. Prakash Budthapa	Coordinator	KIRDAC, Dolpa
19.	Mr. Mana Bahadur Sarki	Coordinator	DDEC, Dolpa
20.	Mr. Sailendra Rokaya	Administrator	Buffer Zone Management Committee
21.	Mr. Rajendra Dungana	Ranger	She Phoksundo National park
22.	Mr. Chandra Bahadur Rokaya	Chairman	Handicap Service Centre
23.	Mr. Chandra Lal Dharala	Technician	District Livestock Development Office, Dolpa
24.	Mr. Yoogendra Bahadur Sharki	Social Mobilizer	CEDA, Nepal
25.	Mr. Hesh Bahadur Shahi	Chairman	FECOFAN
26.	Ms. Saraswoti Budha	Social Mobilizer	Srbangin Development Samaj
27.	Mr. Ashok Raj Bhandari	Engineer	RCIW
28.	Mr. Hemanta Kumar Jha	District Project Office	UPAP

S.No.	Name	Organisation	Désignation
29.	Mr. Urmila BK	Chairperson	All Nepal Women Committee ( Radical )
30.	Mr. Rama Devi neupane	Social Worker	
31.	Ms. Mangali Rokaya	Social Worker	
32.	Mr. Tula Chanda Buda	Member	NCP UML
33.	Mr. Keshav Dungna	Sociologist	Community Water and Sanitation Project
34.	Mr. Nar Bahadur Budha	Member	Remote Area Development Committee
35.	Mr. Mani Ram Nepal	Industry Officer	Industry Committe
36.	Mr. Anjan Kumar Mishra	Planning Officer	District develoment Committee
37.	Mr. Durga Prasad Sapkota	Officer	Helvitas

## ANNEX E : PHOTOGRAPH



On the way to Rasi Village from Dunai



Rooma Village



Discussion



Discussion





On the way to Gally to Rally Village



Discussion

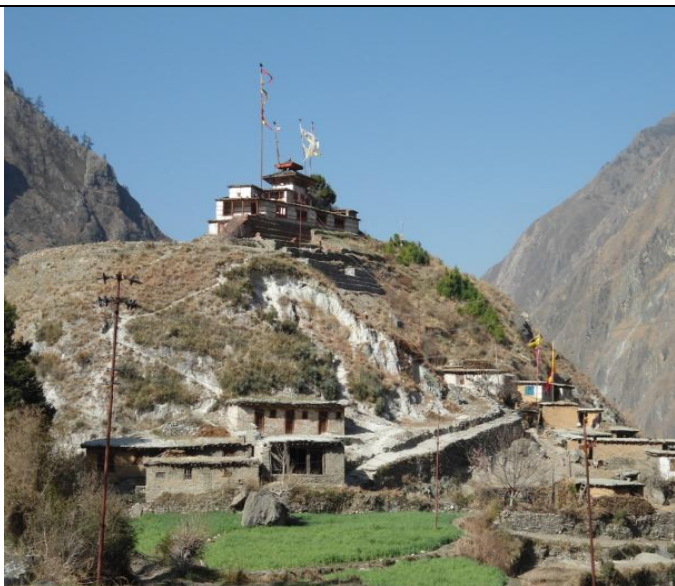


Scene of the VDCs rocky hills



Cultivated land near Tripurakot





Famus *Balatripurasundari* Temple



Tripurakot Village



A woman making Local *Vote* tea.



Discussion

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